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ABSTRACT

This document contains the agenda and papers on work and training presented at the Agora VII meeting in Thessaloniki, Greece in October, 1999. The Foreword describes each session with a list of the topics and papers, along with a brief introduction to the topics. The three sessions are: Work and Training in Society in the 21st Century; Working Time and Training Time Inside and Outside the Enterprise Management of People and Skills; and Working Time and Training Time in the Course of Life. The papers are "To What Extent is Work Also Training?" (Johan van Rens); "Learning: Where, When, and How?" (Eric Fries Guggenheim); "The Place of Work and Education in Contemporary Society" (Juan Jose Castillo); "Crisis in the Traditions for Admission to Training"(Jorgen Mork); "The OECD's Thematic Review on Adult Learning. The Themes Under Review" (Patrick Werquin); "The Contexts of Training" (Saul Meghnagi); "Training in the Context of Reduced Working Hours" (Jacques Trautmann); "The Future of the Relationship Between Working Time and Learning Time" (Klaus Schedler); "Working Time, Education Time and Social Capital" (Tom Schuller); "Synthesis of the Work" (Andre Kirchberger). The document also contains a list of event participants and a bibliography. (SLR)

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PANORAMA

Agora VII
Working time, training time

Thessaloniki, 7 – 8 October, 1999

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Thessaloniki,
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Foreword

A Frenchman, a Belgian, a Dane, a Portuguese man, an Irishman, a German, etc., a European: how can they be defined?

When one thinks of a European citizen, what springs to mind? His profile? His living environment? The way he lives? His standard of living? The way he expresses himself? His level of education and training? The quality of his job? His skills? His productivity? His general culture?

If we look more closely, we take more or less all of these things into account. We see a set of associations as **a citizen** – a family man, an active supporter of a sports, cultural or religious group, a union militant, a member of a political party – but also as a **young person in education or training** -a schoolboy, a student or an apprentice – and lastly as a **worker** – in employment or unemployed.

Over the course of a life, the time devoted to work, training and activities outside these two basic social times is fairly unevenly distributed. The two types of time – work and training – take up at most twenty per cent of an individual's living time, and not more than thirty per cent of his waking hours. Even so, both of these, alternately or concurrently, have become the social times to which most attention is devoted, to the point of relegating all other types of living time to second place.

The purpose of this Agora is to reflect on the organisation of the various social times. Its subject is of course 'Working time – training time', but it is striking that this debate does not even mention living time. Hence the theme of the first session of this Agora:

Session I – Work and training in society in the 21st century

What is in fact the status of work and the status of training in our lives as European citizens? Are they the focal elements of our existence, the purpose of our lives, or are they just ways of ensuring our material and spiritual reproduction? [Juan José Castillo]

Are work and training human rights or a citizen's duty? [Ricardo Petrella]

What are the relations between work and training; are they independent or are they inextricably linked? What are the relations between knowledge, culture and professional efficiency? Is the inheritance of N.F.S. Grundtvig universal? [Ole Vig Jensen]

Structuring of social time – time for oneself, working time, time for training, leisure time,...

Homo sapiens is *homo faber* and it is evident that training has effects on his skill, inventiveness, efficiency and productivity. In our society, where wages constitute the predominant relationship in production, it is essentially in the workplace and as an employee

that he engages in productive activity, although since the mid-1980s the percentage of employees in the active population has levelled off and even declined in most European Union countries.

The enterprise, however, operates in accordance with its own rules: its aim is to conquer markets, eliminate competitors, minimise the risks and costs and maximise profits. This is not always aligned with the citizen's goals and objectives.

The growing flexibility of the jobs market, together with greater flexibility in working relations (and greater occupational mobility in employment status) have, at the end of this century, profoundly changed the way the enterprise operates and how it organises its production. Arrangements which not so long ago were regarded as 'untypical' (part-time employment, temporary work, etc.) have now become an essential factor in the workings of the labour market. This situation inevitably affects the role and position of training in an enterprise's internal strategies. Growing importance is being attached to competences (their acquisition, maintenance and development) as opposed to purely formal qualifications, which in very many cases used to underlie and even legitimise the socio-occupational status of workers within the enterprise and society.

The issue of skills is focused more on the individual, who has thus acquired greater 'responsibility', taking more account of the abilities (technical, social and in human relations) acquired in the workplace.

The question of the relations between 'working time' and 'training time' necessarily implies not so much that the latter is conditional on the former in that training precedes work, but rather that there is a measure of dependence between them. Since profit is the goal of the enterprise and working time is one of the production factors, clearly training, and the 'time' devoted to training, is justified only by its contribution towards improving the performance of the enterprise by giving its workers the skills to meet production needs. This 'narrow' and 'utilitarian' – but widely held – concept of training contrasts with a broader, independent approach. This approach is to see training as providing scope for the personal development of workers and to say that training cannot therefore be defined solely in the light of the (enterprise's) short-term production needs. In certain Member States (especially Belgium and France), arrangements such as 'training leave' were regarded as one way of enabling workers to engage in a 'personal' project (outside production time and away from the workplace) quite unrelated to the 'training' produced within the workplace, under his own responsibility and financed by the employer. The greater flexibility of working time, its adaptation and reorganisation, as well as a growing awareness among employers of training being an investment on a par with research and development, for example, force us to rethink the relations between 'working time' and 'training time'.

The need is all the more pressing since the reorganisation of working time, and even more the 'reduction' of that time, release what some people might call 'free time' (on top of paid holidays and more generally time 'outside production' and 'away from the workplace'). The question that may arise, and it arises very often in negotiations surrounding the reorganisation

and adaptation of working time, is whether 'training time' is or is not part of this adaptation, in other words whether or not it is fully integrated and recognised. This is not just a 'quantitative' question (if fewer hours are 'worked' some people might be tempted to reduce the time devoted to training, or in any case to confine it even more narrowly to the needs of the enterprise itself). The question is also structural in nature, in that the growing adaptation of working times (staggered working hours, shift rotas, etc.) and changes to the organisation of work itself makes the organisation of training within the workplace even more complex. This will be the subject of the second session of Agora VII:

Session II – Working time and training time inside and outside the enterprise; Management of people and of skills

Where and when does one acquire competences, where and when does one acquire the key qualifications? What bridges exist between the two? [Alain Dumont]

Does the employer have some responsibility for the training of a man and citizen over and above his training as a worker? To what extent should workers be trained outside working hours? [Jacques Trautmann]

In what measure is labour formative? [Vincent Merle]

Means of linking working time and time for training: alternance training, recurrent training, lifelong learning, adult education, social advancement, etc.

What are the roles respectively of education and training institutions (schools, continuing training centres, etc.) and of enterprises in the education and training process?

Nevertheless, knowledge, skills and key qualifications today are no longer acquired in a single stage preceding working life which, as we have already stated, is more and more often disrupted and deviated. They are acquired in three major stages in the training activity:

- initial training;
- complementary training at the time of entering the working world;
- continuing training.

These stages, however, are too often regarded differently and put on different levels.

Whereas initial training can easily be defined as being restricted to young people at the start of their lines, entry into the working world may be a lengthy and sometimes repetitive process with blurred confines. Continuing training – even though everyone seems to agree that it has become a vital need, with all the technological developments – is too often disregarded.

Times of involuntary inactivity, especially unemployment, are becoming a major challenge in 'retraining', or even a return to initial training in the light of the experience that has been

acquired. This is why it is important to validate what has been acquired and to modularise vocational training, as well as to organise, through vocational guidance, personal and occupational paths that combine periods of work and periods of training. The third session of the Agora VII will address this set of issues.

Session III – Working time and training time in the course of life

Does working time reduction imply an augmentation of education and training time?

The new routes for vocational education and training (Assessing and recognising prior learning, modularising vocational education and training, as well as organising, through vocational guidance, personal and occupational paths that combine periods of work and periods of training). [Maria Helena André/Joanna Agudo]

The concept of recurring training (tilbagevedende uddannelse). [Ole Vig Jensen]

The training of adults and work [Paul Bélanger]

From permanent education to continuing vocational training [Lucie Tanguy]

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Agenda of the meeting

Thursday 7 October 1999

9 a.m.	Welcome and opening of the Agora: Johan van Rens, Director, Cedefop
9.15 a.m.	Introduction by Éric Fries Guggenheim, Cedefop

Session I — Work and training in society in the 21st century

9.30 a.m.	The status of work and training in contemporary society, Juan José Castillo, University Complutense of Madrid (Spain)
9.50 a.m.	Between the right to education and training and the obligation of training – Is there a third option, Jørgen Mørk, Kongsbak consulting (Denmark)
10.10 a.m.	Presentation of the OCDE research project: 'Thematic revue of adult learning', Patrick Werquin, OCDE (International organisation)
11.30 a.m.	General discussion on the structure of social time in contemporary society

Session II — Working and training time inside and outside the enterprise; management of people and skills

2.30 p.m.	Social partners' round-table discussion Alain Dumont, Mouvement des Entreprises Françaises – MEDEF (France) Luis Miguel Fernandez, Confederacíon Sindical de CC.OO (Spain) Lise Skanting, Danish Employers' Confederation – DA (Denmark)
3.15 p.m.	General discussion on 'Working and training time inside and outside the enterprise; management of people and skills'
4.45 p.m.	Does the employer have a responsibility for the training of a person over and above his/her training as a worker?: Saul Meghnagi, Istituto Superiore per la Formazione (Italy)

5.05 p.m. Working time – training time: Jacques Trautmann, Louis Pasteur University of Strasbourg (France)

5.25 p.m. What are the respective roles of education and training institutions (schools, continuing training centres, etc.) and of enterprises in the education and training process? Klaus Schedler, Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, Vienna (Austria)

5.45 p.m. Debate on the contributions/interventions

Friday 8 October 1999

Session III Working and training time in the course of life

9.30 a.m. To what extend is labour formative?: Vincent Merle, Principal private secretary of Nicole Péry, the Secretary of State for the rights of women and vocational training (France)

10 a.m. Working time, education time and social capital: a life course perspective, Tom Schuller, Birkbeck College, University of London (United Kingdom)

11 a.m. First synthesis of the debates by André Kirchberger former Unit Director at the European Commission (Cedefop)

11.30 a.m. General discussion on 'Working and training time in the course of life'

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1. To what extent is work also training ([1])?

Johan van Rens ([2])

As most of you already know, Cedefop is the European reference centre for vocational education and training.

This idea of reference centre is of course developing gradually. When, in 1995, Cedefop had to move from Berlin to Thessaloniki, we had a debate on how Cedefop could renew its activity and restart. We decided the best way was to deepen our activities and develop ourselves as a reference centre, not as competition to the Commission or to other policy-makers. Mainly, we underlined we would deliver arguments with good elements for policy-makers, practitioners and of course researchers.

Cedefop's primary task is to compile documentation and analyse data, to help develop and coordinate research, to exploit and disseminate information, to encourage a consulted approach to vocational education and training and, of course, to provide a forum for all concerned.

The Agora Thessaloniki is a place for exchange, a bridge for stakeholders in vocational education and training. We developed this project to bring researchers, policy-makers and practitioners together. We developed it to see how we could build bridges more generally because we concluded the relationship between policy and research is changing considerably.

You cannot say that policy-makers just develop policy and want answers from researchers. They have to argue and provide intelligent solutions to problems. For their part, researchers have to look practically at what can be done with their research to provide arguments and elements for policy-makers and practitioners.

The stakeholders of this Agora are therefore practitioners, employers and their associations, workers and unions, governments and, of course, researchers.

The aim of the Agora is to create a forum for open multilateral discussion bringing together conflicting views and promoting general understanding between different parties.

All the subjects covered are important, not immediately in policy at this moment but they will gradually grow in importance. So, in that sense, the Agora Thessaloniki is a preface to further arguments and ideas to be developed at Cedefop.

([1]) This text is a transcription of a recording of Johan van Rens' introduction to Cedefop's Agora VII held in Thessaloniki on 7 October 1999.

([2]) Director of Cedefop since 1 October 1994.

For example:

(a) The question of low skilled on the labour market will be quite dominant in our work programme next year.

(b) Accrediting non-formal learning is important in many Member States and is underlined. There is much interest in this project.

(c) Also a difficult subject: reporting on human capital in statements by enterprises.

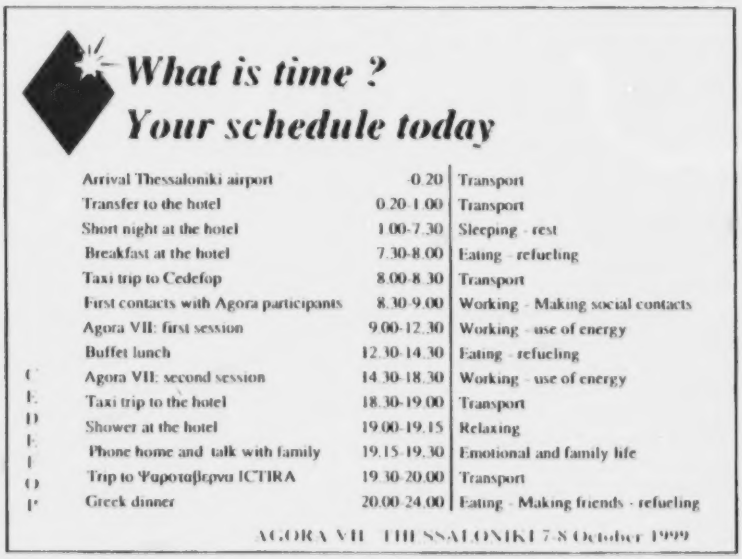
So, this Agora concerns the issue of time, the relationship between working time and training time. The sixth Agora addressed the issue of human capital, but to accumulate human capital we need time, and so this seventh Agora will address the issue of social time.

I went through the contributions that were sent around. As I am not capable of answering all these difficult questions, I will present some considerations put together by Éric Fries Guggenheim.

More generally the question of time is a difficult one. In Amsterdam, in the trade union museum which brings together the history of the three Dutch confederations and is located in the building of the former diamond workers union, there is an old board room. On the walls are paintings representing the three parts of the day: working, recuperation and leisure, and sleeping. This was a simple way of seeing it for the architects and artists of that time. This building dates back to the beginning of this century, and the idea of a rough division between one third, one third, and one third, has changed considerably since then.

So what is time?

Well, if you look at your own schedule for today you can see it would be quite difficult to divide it up in a strict and traditional way.


What is time ?
Your schedule today
Arrival Thessaloniki airport 0.20 Transport
Transfer to the hotel 0.20-1.00 Transport
Short night at the hotel 1.00-7.30 Sleeping - rest
Breakfast at the hotel 7.30-8.00 Eating - refueling
Taxi trip to Cedefop 8.00-8.30 Transport
First contacts with Agora participants 8.30-9.00 Working - Making social contacts
Agora VII: first session 9.00-12.30 Working - use of energy
Buffet lunch 12.30-14.30 Eating - refueling
Agora VII: second session 14.30-18.30 Working - use of energy
Taxi trip to the hotel 18.30-19.00 Transport
Shower at the hotel 19.00-19.15 Relaxing
Phone home and talk with family 19.15-19.30 Emotional and family life
Trip to Ψαροταβερνα ICTIRA 19.30-20.00 Transport
Greek dinner 20.00-24.00 Eating - Making friends - refueling
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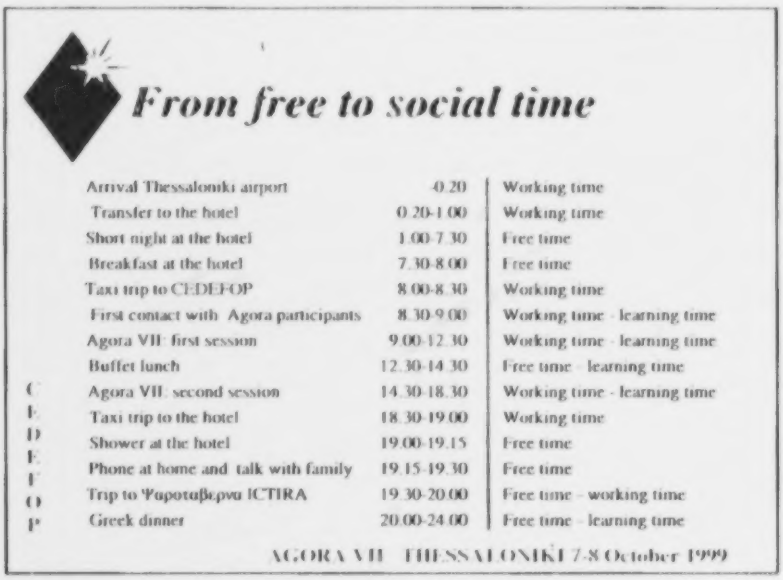
If you then look at how it is divided up you will see transport, sleeping, rest, eating, transport, working, social contacts, working, use of energy, transport, relaxing, emotional family life, transport again, eating, and making friends, refuelling.


From free to social time
Arrival Thessaloniki airport 0.20 Working time
Transfer to the hotel 0.20-1.00 Working time
Short night at the hotel 1.00-7.30 Free time
Breakfast at the hotel 7.30-8.00 Free time
Taxi trip to CEDEFOP 8.00-8.30 Working time
First contact with Agora participants 8.30-9.00 Working time - learning time
Agora VII: first session 9.00-12.30 Working time - learning time
Buffet lunch 12.30-14.30 Free time - learning time
Agora VII: second session 14.30-18.30 Working time - learning time
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Greek dinner 20.00-24.00 Free time - learning time
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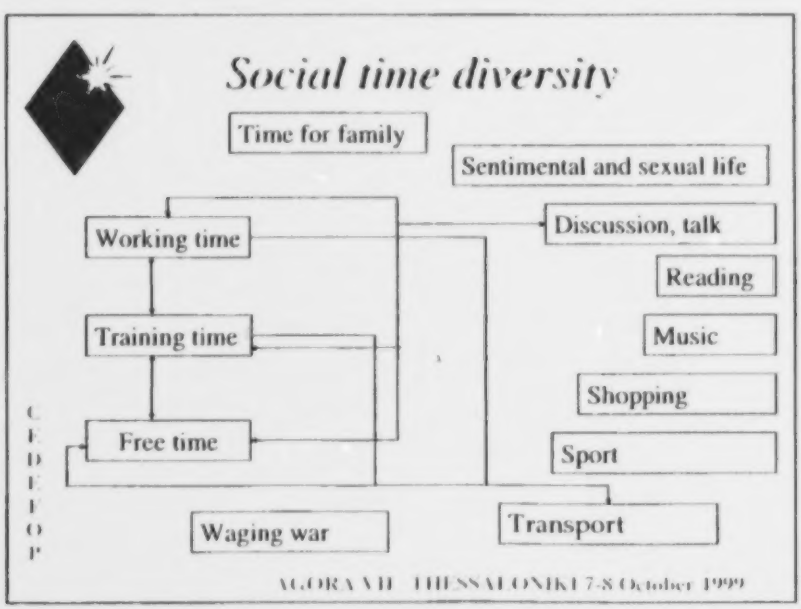
If you add all the working time together you come to 10.5 hours, learning time represents 14 hours and free time 12 hours. If you add all that together, although there are only 24 hours in a day, your day, at least all the social time, had 36 hours and a half.

In fact there is a large diversity in social time. So you have working time, training time and free time and all the different relationships between the activities indicated. These are just examples to show how complicated things can be.



Looking at social time in history, you could say:

(a) In ancient Greece, labour was the mark of slavery. What mattered to citizens was how to organise their leisure time: discussions, politics, sport, religion and philosophy.

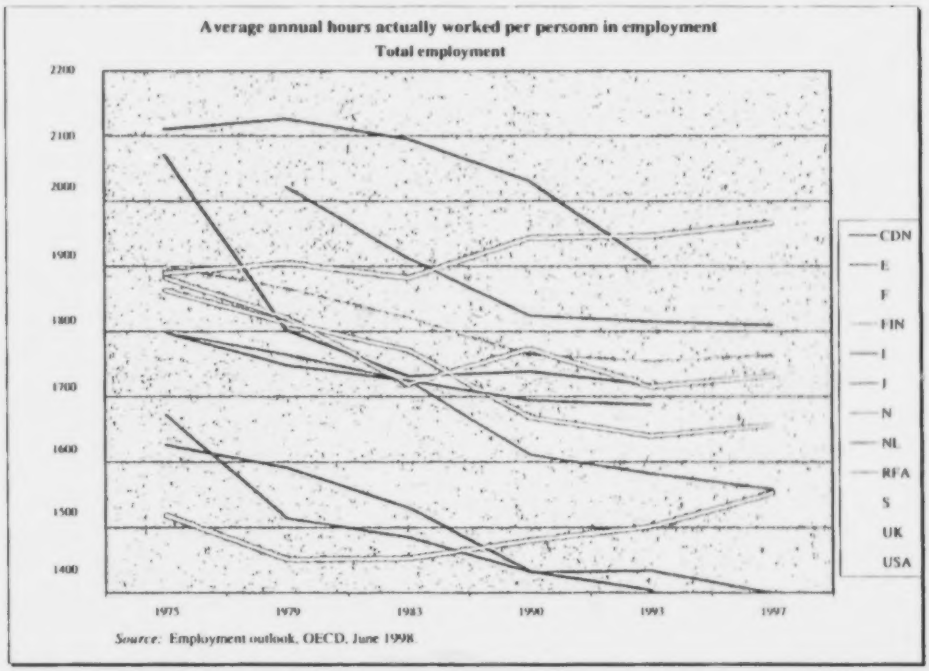
(b) In the Middle Ages labour was for serfs, the Lord made war and defended society and the clergy prayed for the souls. Labour was tied to the original sin.

(c) In the Reformation period, Luther and Calvin taught the value of work and saving in addition to learning was essential. Labour was a way to salvation.

(d) In the industrial revolution: for French *physiocrats* nature and man worked together; for Adam Smith, labour was the origin of wealth; for Hegel and Marx, man was the 'great producer'. The archetype of labour was paid labour. Labour was the prime aspect of social cohesion.

This review is of course hasty and easy to criticise. Its aim is to identify points for further consideration and discussion.

As far as social time today is concerned we see working hours are decreasing, although this trend is slowing and since 1993/94, in some countries, developments are even going in the opposite direction.



Source: Employment outlook, OECD, June 1998

One important development in working time is part-time work, and I noticed that is perhaps even more the case in the Netherlands than in some other countries. Part-time employment as a percentage of total employment is spreading rapidly in some OECD countries. It is of course stimulated by demands from enterprises for more labour market flexibility, and, we must

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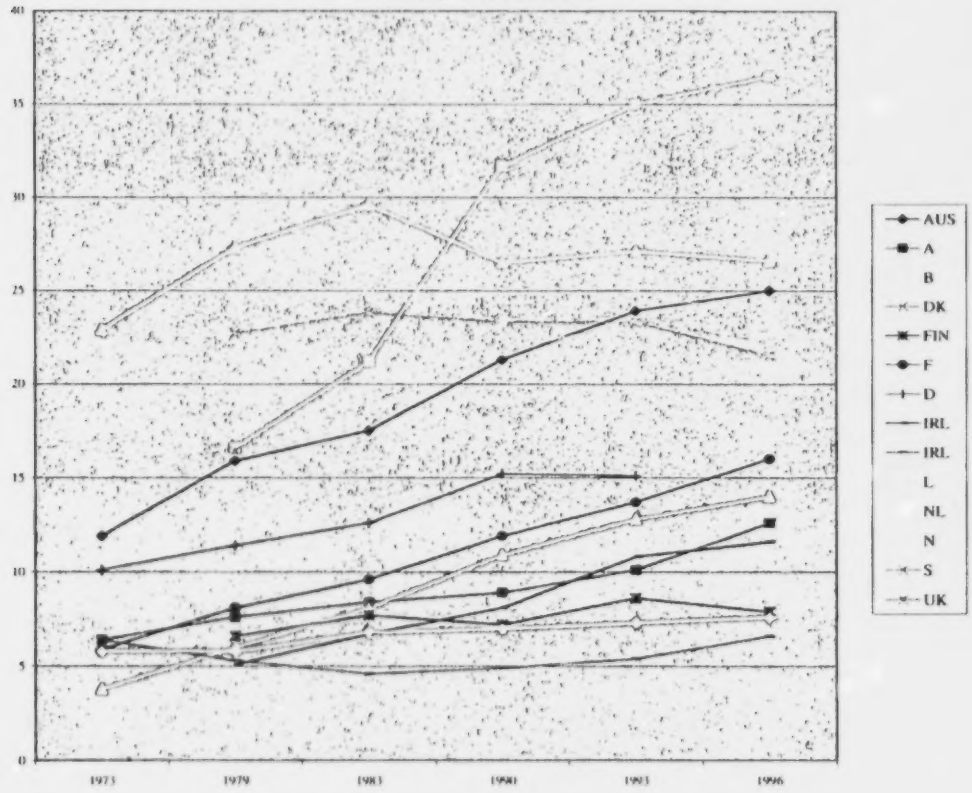
admit, also in the supply. There is an increasing number of women, as well as men, who would like to combine better work and other family or social responsibilities.

Part-time employment as a percentage of total employment in some OECD countries



Source: OECD full-time/part-time employment database.

Considering the breakdown of social time throughout life, we tend to stay longer in the education system when young, and less at work when more mature. The figures below clearly indicate nowadays people stay longer in initial education.

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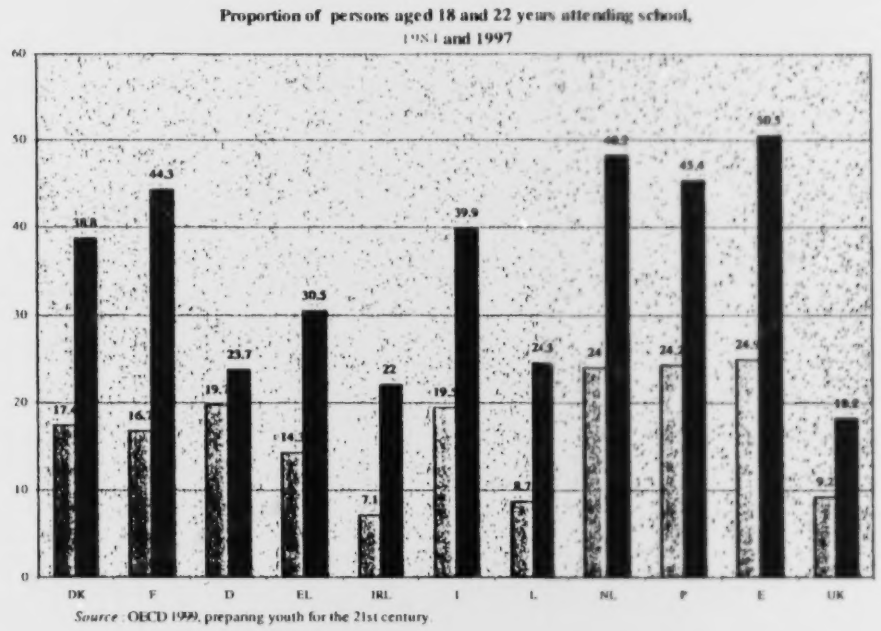
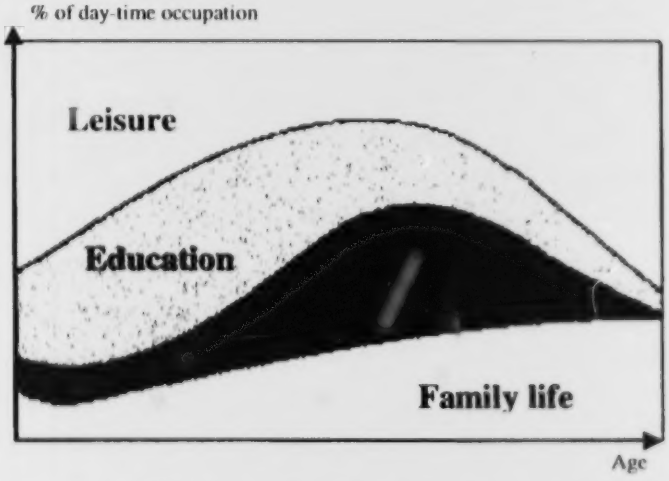


Source : OECD 1999, preparing youth for the 21st century.

The complementary relationship between work, education, leisure and family time throughout the life cycle is another point of social time today. To a certain extent, this is not so easy to change, as far as family life is concerned. But in work, education and leisure, relationships in the life cycle might of course change, especially education and work. Youngsters cannot be forced to work and older people have their limits.



Source: Emilio Fontela, España en la década de los ochenta, Presidencia del Gobierno, Madrid, 1980.

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Another crucial element of social time today which is still important is, *work* and *paid work* more generally, remain the central point of human life.

In the table below, we see how important work is to people. We see there are no big differences for different age groups, less than 25 and over 25. Although there are differences for some categories, as we can see, for example, for those out of work. But overall, this indicates that work, paid work generally, remains important to all categories and all age groups.

	Less than 25	25 and over	All
Work is a person's most important activity			
Employed	39	46	45
Unemployed	55	52	53
Out of labour force	33	55	52
All	38	50	48
Would like a paid job even if do not need the money			
Employed	67	67	67
Unemployed	72	68	69
Out of labour force	51	66	68
All	67	60	61

Source: OECD, 1999, preparing youth for the 21st century.

The Ancient Greek problem is still there. They had slaves to make citizens' daily lives easier and give them free time. Nowadays, it is technical progress which makes work less arduous and grants us more free time. Developing technology does not only increase productivity, it also increases the quality of work and safety at work. The question becomes then more and more how do we organise our free time? The higher our education, the better are our chances of organising our social lives satisfactorily, although any leisure activity has a cost. We also have better prospects for getting a job, access to continuing vocational training, and higher disposable income for our free time.

So you could say education helps to improve everybody's position in all areas, if you look at the key data Cedefop produced with Eurostat and the European Commission.

I have tried with Eric Fries Guggenheim to give you an indication of what elements play a role in the question of time. Of course, you have seen the documentation, which I think is helpful. It does not provide solutions to all the problems, although the CNPF (MEDEF) brochure proposes a practical start.

I sincerely hope our discussions will bring us towards more common analyses and agreement on basic points.

As I remember from discussions in the Netherlands, and in all the discussions in France, for example, if you try to provide a good balance between the different aspects of training, free time, working time, and income which is related to that, and flexibility and security, you are going into detail and raising difficult questions.

We do not have to solve everything here, but a good discussion on what the basic elements are might be helpful for coming to concrete solutions from negotiations and for supporting practical developments in your countries. Hopefully, this Agora will contribute to that.

2. Learning: where, when and how?

Éric Fries Guggenheim

Classical tragedies such as Corneille's *Le Cid* or Racine's *Andromaque* are marked by the triple unity of time, place and action. Classical tragedy is no doubt all very fine but it is, in my view, deadly boring and the very opposite of real life ([3]).

Bearing this in mind, when we think about training, we need to say to ourselves that it is what it is, and in any case has nothing in common with classical tragedy. In learning there is no unity, neither of time, nor of place, nor of action.

2.1. Learning is life

2.1.1. No unity of time in learning

We learn all the time, and we do not all learn the same things at the same time. In order to learn something, we have to be available and receptive, and not all human beings are receptive

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([3]) In the web pages of the Agora Thessaloniki project at the Cedefop Training Village: http://www2.trainingvillage.gr/etv/agora/introduction/default.asp the aims of the project are summed up as follows:

'*In sum, the project creates bridges and links among all ICVT actors in order to promote initial and continuing vocational training and to favour the most promising innovations for citizens, companies and society as a whole; this it does without attempting to impose one point of view – out of respect for the variety of cultures, local characteristics, and historical differences between the actors, between religions and nations, etc.*'

Respect for different points of view and different practices seems to me to be the keyword of the Agora collective process of learning and building the future. I cannot therefore resist giving the floor, in the form of a translator's note, to a member of a profession who seldom speak in the Agoras, though all contributions pass through their hands for the purpose of revision or translation – so that they are among the most faithful readers of the Proceedings of the Agoras. Here is the e-mail message sent by one of our translators, which I regard as a plea for tolerance and mutual understanding and which, rightly, was intended to draw my attention to an issue that had been totally ignored in my paper.

'*I am revising one of the texts for Agora 7, entitled "Learning: where, when and how?", and I must confess that it makes me a little sad. What can I say when I see that you have written that "classical tragedy is deadly boring"? Did you never, like me, have tears in your eyes at the age of 14 when a brilliant literature teacher was recounting how Antigone, whose only crime was to want to bury her brother, the enemy of the ruler of the city, was put to death? Did you never feel a lump in your throat at Xenophon's account of the death of Cyrus, King of the Persians (the Persians, not the Greeks!)? I did. Without Oedipus, psychoanalysis would never have had its founding myth. And what of Electra, Orestes, Eurydice? There are so many such examples of filial and conjugal love (ah, Andromache), of civic responsibility and honesty, of self-sacrifice for the common good. In short, of everything that we want to teach (really TEACH) our children. Forgive me for being a bit (too?) outspoken, but it upsets me! It is not simply a question of "where, when and how", but also of "what" to teach.*' (ndt)

to the same things at the same time. We each have our own rhythms. There is no a priori reason why our moments of dullness and flashes of genius should all coincide.

This being so, it is counter-educational and absurd to want to impose the same educational programmes on all children. Some learn to swim at 4 years of age, others at 15; some will understand the meaning of equations with 2 unknowns at 8 years of age, others at 30, or indeed never.

In teaching, it is therefore necessary to be aware of the degree of receptivity of the other person – the pupil, the trainee or the graduate, the child or the adult. It is absurd to imagine that individuals' lives can be sliced up into a learning stage, a testing stage and a scrap-heap stage.

Individual lives are long enough and varied enough to give everyone the opportunity to acquire knowledge, to adopt skills and to master reactions and behaviours.

2.1.2. No unity of place in learning

We learn everywhere. At school, of course. We learn all sorts of things there, which we sometimes find hard to swallow. But we do not learn only if we are sitting at a desk listening to the teacher. We learn in the playground, for example. We learn to talk slang in breaks, but we also learn the rules of football, basketball and many other group games. Some of us learn to speak the language of the host country, like my small son at Greek school. And we also learn things as important as the difference between girls and boys, respect for hierarchy, our social status, and so on.

Obviously, we also learn at our place of work: we learn at the workbench, we learn in the office, and we learn from contacts with colleagues.

There is nowhere where we cannot learn something. In the street, we learn at a very young age to sum up the people we meet, those we can trust and those we cannot trust. In the market, we learn how to tell whether fruit and vegetables, meat and fish are fresh.

There are even places that exist without really existing, virtual places. At Cedefop, we have a virtual Training Village, where we learn a huge number of things, both factual knowledge and the skills to find our way around the jungle of information that threatens to entangle us.

2.1.3. No unity of action

We learn in every conceivable way.

Of course, if we are to remember some piece of knowledge, we have to memorise it. These days, we tend to be too dismissive of learning by heart.

We also learn by what one of my friends at the *Université Louis Pasteur* in Strasbourg calls, somewhat pompously no doubt, patient reading of the great books and the great masters. The

written word is still an essential vehicle of learning, both when we consume it, as readers, and when we produce it, when we write. I am always surprised to find how much we can 'think with our pen'.

But we also 'learn by doing', by putting the hand to the plough. We learn to move, to handle things with familiarity through contact with objects, sounds and, sometimes, visual images. We learn speed, we learn regularity, and we learn precision in production. Hence the very odd name that the Danes have given to schools for children who find it difficult to cope with academic learning: *produktionsskole*. 'Production school' however is not a place where children necessarily learn to 'produce'. It means that they learn about School, and learn to accept learning.

We also learn by playing, with which I should no doubt have begun since it is the first form of learning among all mammalian offspring. The more mammals play, and the longer they play, the more developed are their intellectual faculties.

There is only one occasion when I genuinely doubt that we learn much: when we are asleep, despite everything we are asked to believe about subconscious learning and learning under hypnosis, for example, although dreams may have educational and heuristic functions that have yet to be explored. How often do we fall asleep worrying about some apparently insoluble problem only to find the answer, as if by magic, when we wake up?

2.2. Learning is a balancing act

This brings us to the French paradigm of Montaigne: 'better a well-made head than a well-stuffed head'. What does it mean? Simply, that theory without practice is a dream never realised, mere fantasising, a waking dream; and that practice without theory is an unfinished act, a constant reinventing of the world, a world unexplained. This being so, there has to be some common ground between the learning of general practical knowledge, theoretical knowledge and the performance of working tasks. General knowledge and precise, dedicated, one-off skills are not merely two poles of knowledge that are equally indispensable to the balanced functioning of the individual, but are also complementary aspects of the learning process.

High-quality vocational training presupposes an open mind, flexibility, adaptability and analytical ability, which are features of general education.

However, it is often difficult for individuals to follow general education, which they find too disembodied, too remote from practicalities and from what they call real life, and they cannot grasp the ins and outs of it. Hence the importance of vocational and academic guidance.

In this case, vocational training may be the way of stimulating a desire for broader education. Although some people find it easier to concentrate on learning in the workplace through physical deeds, practice and action, than through theoretical learning, this does not imply that they will never encounter difficulties or problems that require theory, analysis and calculation. It is at

that moment, when people become aware of the importance of theory, mathematics, language and so on at work, that they may discover an interest in learning and may acquire the motivation to pursue general education. As ever, therefore, practice and theory are indissolubly linked.

Individuals differ greatly from one another in this regard, some needing to know why things happen before setting them going, others needing to handle something before they can begin to wonder about its characteristics. But this does not matter, as we have said, since we do not all learn the same things at the same time.

In consequence, schools, educational institutions and places of work have complementary roles. While general basic knowledge is acquired at school, skills are unquestionably learnt at work. This does not mean that schools are not places where skills can also be learnt – life skills, for example – or that places of work are incapable of broadening the mind. We shall no doubt have this entire debate about the respective roles of the workplace and the school, the dialectic between working time and training time, at this Agora, and Mr Klaus Schedler in particular will address this topic in the second session.

This brings us to the whole issue of learning processes, and many practices in Europe are of great relevance to this question.

I am thinking of course of all that we have learnt from Denmark and particularly of the development of the ideas of Grundtvig, the pastor-politician who was the creator of the *folkehøjskole* (folk high school) in Denmark. This is a type of school that subsequently spread throughout Europe, a school where citizens and producers are educated in one go, where the learning of technical behaviour is the occasion and the pretext for philosophical discussion, where the learning of agriculture is the occasion for mathematical reflection, and where the acquisition of very specific techniques is achieved through literary expression.

I am thinking of the role of the economy in integrating people into society. Training enterprises are in my view schools of life. In training enterprises, people who no longer have the slightest idea what work is, what a timetable is, what hard work means, learn or re-learn about work and how to live their lives as workers. Training enterprises are thus true schools.

I am thinking finally of the Spanish *Escuelas Taller*, and of experiments such as Bertrand Schwartz's *Nouvelles qualifications* in France. In these, the idea is more or less the same as in the *produktionsskole*. Practical learning and physical acts provide a link with theory. A taste for physical acts and practical learning is used to give a taste for general learning and to embed general education, as it were, within practical education. Conversely, people's general knowledge is used to guide their practical vocational activities.

It is by combining these two elements, knowledge and skills, theory and practice, that education is best able to transform the selfish, uncaring cheats and idlers which we all are at bottom into the responsible, committed, effective and sociable citizens. Such citizens are

desperately needed if there is social cohesion is to be restored; a social cohesion which is all too often threatened by social and technological changes and the rise in social inequalities.

2.3. Learning is a way of structuring space and time

Social and working life is increasingly non-linear. It is more and more made up of alternating periods of employment, when people wear themselves out in frantic activity, and periods of so-called free time, which is often unfortunately empty time (unemployment and holidays).

The real question is how to make use of these alternating periods of productive employment and non-employment to restart the educational process which, in fact, never ends.

This is at the heart of what is termed recurrent or lifelong education. The differences between these concepts are frequently considerable, sometimes subtle, and always very significant. This Agora, particularly the third session, looks more closely at this issue.

3. The Place of work and education in contemporary society

Juan José Castillo

'Work is now the function of the machine....
It is supposed that [men] will be freed from 'work'
in order to do something that is not 'work'.
But what is work and what is not work?
[He lists a very varied set of activities.]
All these things are work for some people,
while for others they are amusement.
There are very few activities that cannot be regarded
either as work or as amusement depending on how they are looked at'.

George Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, 1937

3.1. Introduction

One hundred and eighty years ago, Robert Owen addressed his 'fellow manufacturers', telling them about his management experiment and inviting them to join it. The New Lanark experiment in Scotland became famous throughout the world. He urged them to care for his 'animated machines' just as they did their other machines, because they derived great benefit from them as entrepreneurs, as manufacturers.

Obviously, this policy was also advantageous for the workers. But Owen, as is well known, went further, the distinctive feature of New Lanark being the priority given to education: in 1816 he built the Institution for the Formation of Character. This provided a complete modern education for life and work which was widely praised and has been the subject of innumerable studies and publications. And today, its physical remains have been restored and can be admired in the exquisite surroundings of the River Clyde.

Concern with education and training and with the place of work in human life is thus nothing new, and many experiments have explored what at first sight seems a simple relationship but which cannot be explained in simple terms – at least not nowadays.

Hence we believe that we should remember, firstly, that it is right to go back to a (more) global framework in order to glimpse the future of work in people's lives as individuals and as *citizens*.

At the 3rd CUT National Congress of Metalworkers held in São Paulo in August 1995, there was general agreement that 'to us, [training is] an element of citizenship'.

We need to shun like the plague the mediocre and trivial notion common in academic and business circles that it is easy to find *straightforward* relationships between knowledge, work and the training that brings them together. This belief breeds management policies that are bad for both society and business and cause serious damage to both enterprises and the individuals and groups involved in them.

I shall make four observations here:

(e) The best social science research into work must look in depth at and beyond the immediate social situation in order to understand work. A good example is the great French researcher, with whom we usually agree: Philippe Zarifian: Éloge de la civilité (1997).

(f) Researchers in labour studies look for ever broader frameworks for their theories in order to 'locate' analyses of conditions of employment, industrial relations or training in the context of social changes. A good example is the recent book by Pierre Rolle: Le travail dans les révolutions russes (1998). He discusses not only current changes and upheavals, but also the familiar argument that the 'failure' of the 1917 Revolution can be explained by the labour policy which the Bolsheviks were obliged to introduce.

(g) It should be stressed that it is right to acknowledge the increasing 'social usefulness' of the current 'theoretical' potential for change. But words are not deeds; the theoretical potential of technology should not be confused with the constraints of actual practice, which is contingent on a given situation; the theoretical wide demand for training is not the same as the meagre use that is made of workers' knowledge ([4]).

(h) Lastly, it could be said to be 'obligatory' in social research to use an interdisciplinary approach: anyone who fails to consider work and education in our contemporary societies in the light of other fields of knowledge and problems will have little to contribute but platitudes ([5]).

([4]) Well discussed in Besucco, N.; Tallard, M. L'encadrement collectif de la gestion de compétences..., *Sociologie du Travail*. 1999, No 2, p. 123–142.

([5]) See my paper Castillo, Juan José. El paraíso perdido de la interdisciplinariedad. In *A la búsqueda del trabajo perdido*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1998.

3.2. The changing role and meaning of work: the perception of education and training depends on the perception of work as part of life ([6]).

Futurist literature, which is not rooted in a social context, has accustomed us to a vision of work in which its only future seems to be its immediate disappearance ([7]). The images of work, its meaning for people, and the role that it plays in structuring society, are changing, and with them, obviously, the role given to education and training, whether this is vocational, continuing or merely 'general'.

The importance we accord to these images – whether they reflect reality or not – is that they provide the *foundations* on which policies of all kinds are based, in the fields of employment, the economy and training. They provide the basis for people's expectations and social demand. They are, in short, **the basis for training.**

These images alone are therefore enough to 'explain' illogicalities such as the early retirement policy of Telefónica de España, which is based on the 'fact' that workers are 'old' even though they may only be 50 years of age. Thanks to the images and ideology of work, it is said with assurance that because they are older they *must be* untrained and unable to adapt to the new information technologies. And of course, when they accept voluntary redundancy (voluntary at least in name) or early retirement, they are forbidden to work in their existing occupations for another company. That is, they are forbidden to offer their supposed lack of training to Telefónica's competitors. Thus, a fund of knowledge and training is squandered; Spanish society should not allow this waste.

I shall briefly illustrate my argument by referring to the place of training in three recent historical periods.

The first period: 1968-1973.
The crisis of work, the allergy to work, and the crisis of the work-based society.

The social context during these years, studied and analysed on numerous occasions ([8]), reveals that the questioning by workers of what they called the 'capitalist' rather than the 'scientific' organisation of work, which was found in much of the literature in use at the time, had a link with training in, for instance, what was called the 'debate on the polarisation of skills', of which the works of Harry Braverman (1974, *Work and Monopoly Capital*) and Michel Freyssenet (1976, *The Capitalist Division of Labour*) are classic examples.

([6]) See Castillo, Juan José. El significado del trabajo hoy. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 1998, No 82, p. 215–229.

([7]) See my *El futuro del trabajo*, 1999.

([8]) See my Sociología del Trabajo: un proyecto docente, 1996.

In fact, the evolution of capitalist production did not require any increase in general training on the part of the mass of workers, either in industry or services; what was provided was the minimum necessary amount of skills training which led to a polarisation of skills (more training for the few, and less training and deskilling for the many). What, then, was the point in providing training for work, to say nothing of people's personal development as citizens?

Moreover, as is evident from the literature, education and training policies, and above all policies on the organisation of work, did not aim in the second half of the 1970s to produce more *capable* workers, with better 'technical' skills but were simply a sop to workers' demands, a way of reaching a minimum level of agreement. That is, they aimed at producing more *compliant* workers.

The 'new ways of organising work' of that time can be explained in part as a political attempt at change in the workplace, rather than as a technical necessity. And the best European examples of how those social changes were reflected in national and European institutions are certainly the European Foundation for the Improvement of Conditions of Living and Work, and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.

Second period: 1984 and after.
Restructuring of production, outsourcing, enterprise networking: towards a pattern of small businesses.

Besides being forever associated with Orwell's 'Big Brother', the year 1984 may be taken as the turning point or boundary between two eras in the analysis of society, work and education. Three key works of sociology were published in 1984: *Divisions of Labour* by Ray Pahl, in the United Kingdom, *The End of the Division of Labour?* By Horst Kern and Michael Schumann, in Germany, and *The Second Industrial Breakthrough* by Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, in the United States.

The geographical dispersal of places of work, the dislocation of the major concentrations of industry which had been the 'great proletarian metropolises', not only completely upset the social fabric and location of work, but also obviously faced training with new challenges, forcing it to recognise the complexity of production and foster local knowledge ([9]).

Two possibilities were opened up for training. First, it could be enriched by becoming integrated it into the social fabric, local identity and knowledge being regarded as the basis of training. The field was thus to be perceived as a social space for the activity of **training** and for the potential of working citizens. Second, the new pattern of production, based on outsourcing of activities, sub-contracting and asymmetric chains of production, might exacerbate the destruction of knowledge by downgrading the relationship between the

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([9]) These matters are discussed more fully in the final chapter of Castillo, Juan José. *A la búsqueda del trabajo perdido*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1998, p. 213.

(central) enterprise and (end) workers. In this case, training would be behavioural training, and once again, working arrangements remind us that compliant rather than capable workers would be required.

The third period: 1990 to the present day.
'Slim' models of production: participation, quality, continuous improvement... Training: learning to learn... and to be mobile.

For our present purposes, perhaps the two most outstanding features of the 1990s were the two different discourses about the image of work found in the sociological literature and proclaimed more widely. These discourses appeared contradictory but sought to reconcile the paradox which they entailed in practice.

The first was the 'end of work': we were once again at the dawn of an age when there would be no need for workers because work would disappear. Whether this was taken to mean its physical disappearance or its consequent disappearance as a moral value between people, it seemed that work would no longer be the central concern in our societies, now based on reformed capitalism.

This did not stop anyone discussing and adopting policies and publishing books about something that was in terminal decline.

The second was that the 1990s were, and all the indications are that this trend will continue, the decade of training and skills, of major social agreements in which workforce training was the key item.

'New models of production' were said to call for more intelligent and more committed work, an overall vision of issues, greater knowledge and a return to integrated skills ([10]). Research showed that this new form of work probably demanded a more intelligent application of knowledge and was certainly more stressful and intensive, with little or no time for reflection or for cooperation among overloaded work teams, so that it was virtually impossible to pass on knowledge or ideas about working practices.

But how could the need for more training for work be reconciled with massive bombardment by the media of the message that work would disappear? Did people really need to train more in order to cope with something that was leading nowhere?

([10]) See Castillo, Juan José. Emergencia de nuevos modelos productivos. Monograph issue of *Sociología del Trabajo*, Spring 1996, No 27.

3.3. From the division of labour to concrete and complex training.

When, at the behest of the UGT trade union and with funding from the National Council of Continuing Training, we carried out a study to prepare a 'guide' for the identification of training needs in major Spanish companies, we saw ourselves obliged to use a framework that was much broader than that usually used in 'impact' studies (i.e., the greater the innovation, the greater the need for skills and hence training). This study looked at the division of labour in society, before examining the actual division of labour in enterprises, company outsourcing policies, in-house and out-of-house production, sub-contracting, etc., as the essential starting points for forecasting future training needs ([11]).

When a large company reorganises and moves a (sizeable) proportion of its production outside, how can training be arranged for the productive fragments that now make up the production system of what used to be a major centre of employment and is now merely a major company? What training is needed for those who are pushed to the periphery of the company?

What now constitute **productive fragments** need to recover some of the **skills** lost through the traditional division of labour. Furthermore, they probably need to do so with new-found independence (and sometimes new-found dependence): to **design** and reflect (for what? – this will depend on the nature of the subordinate relationship with the 'mother' company), to **coordinate, plan and monitor** (themselves), to **start working**, to be inventive, to train, and so on.

Is the intelligence applied to production being **redistributed**? Or is independence merely a sham? Is there an equal division? Or are training needs concentrated in the major company, and do the dependent small businesses become deskilled?

How will people, work and training develop in future?

If there is a balanced division of labour, the first question is: are all citizens to be trained as potential managers, if only of themselves?

3.4. In conclusion: proposals for discussion.

The above considerations lead me to put a number of what seem to me relevant questions for discussion at this Agora. Some are couched in general terms and others are more specific, but if they are to be addressed clearly, they require more general examination of the relations between social structure, images of work and training needs and policies.

([11]) See 'Guía para la detección de necesidades de formación', in the bibliography at the end.

The main question is of course: what is the future of work and training, and of our societies?

This should not be taken as a rhetorical question that looks so far ahead that, whatever one says, it will have little to do with our everyday practice. Rather the opposite. Such a question assumes that it is possible to build a social reality, that the social actors will not be locked deterministically into circumstances about which nobody can do anything. It assumes discussion – and this is a good forum for it – of the various options for social organisation, of a citizens' orientation in preference to a vision based on short-termism, of a negotiated building of society, of the jobs we want to exist in the future and, of course, of the training which we need if those jobs, that division of labour, and those citizens are to exist.

The social sciences of work provide us with a wealth of knowledge and contrasting experiences which may be vital when social actors are given greater opportunities for choice and negotiation. I believe that this is the role for us here as researchers.

We are not heading for a new Medieval society, as Umberto Eco has written, in which the citizens of the world will be transformed, freed from social ties, lacking frames of reference, obliged to be wandering workers, geographically mobile, always available and answerable for themselves.

The future of work and society can be foreseen, planned and envisaged with far more resources than in the past.

Given a rough outline of the types of persons, of citizens and workers that we want, closely linked with the public policies needed to achieve these aims, we need to discuss how, where and why to spend growing public resources, both national and European, on what concerns us here – that is, if we seek to create potential workers, and above all, **citizens** (who will also be potential workers).

This debate on the direction of public policies leads immediately to the need to encourage the private policies of enterprises in the same direction, to ensure that public and private policies converge. While such broad policy areas may not disagree, within each area, private or public, and even within one enterprise, whether one company or a group of companies, policies are often openly at loggerheads.

One obvious example is the organisational policies in enterprises which seek to create greater involvement in work as a prerequisite for exploiting both workers' knowledge and skills, and their willingness to work and learn. These policies contrast with other policies within the same enterprise to promote freelance working by groups of workers, combined with measures to break up and destroy workers' capacity for collective action[12].

A good way of looking at the debate on training in the context of its social relationships has recently been incisively described by José Rose as 'the singularity of the present situation'.

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[12] Good examples of this are given in the work of Danièle Linhart, 1995.

The present situation does indeed appear to be characterised by the coexistence of a) a demand for high skill levels when appointments are made, so that training is used as a form of selection; b) 'underuse of skills in the exercise of work', which can make the situation less satisfying for people who are well-trained but then find themselves working in unskilled positions; and c) a new undervalution in remuneration ([13]).

What are we training our citizens for?

Under certain social conditions, work, the human activity that aims at transforming reality, is stretched and blurred, retreats into the secret corners of society and becomes socially and scientifically invisible.

If work is breaking up into ever more different **pockets of work**, for what sort of citizens do we think we are building society through education and training (which serves work also, but principally society)? The challenge remains: who should be trained and how? Who controls and takes the decisions in such a complex system? What visible hands should replace the invisible hands that are currently undermining our hopes as European citizens?

In our view, the dominant discourse about the end of work, which is hedged about by so many mistaken policies, must give way to a more sensible and realistic perspective that is rooted in social research and the people's experience, and in the needs of enterprises that look a little further than the immediate short term.

([13]) José Rose. Travail et formation, in Kergoat, J.; et al. *Le monde du travail*. Paris: La Découverte, 1998, p. 265–272.

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4. Crisis in the traditions for admission to training

Jørgen Mørk

4.1. Introduction

It is apparent from the outline of the conference that reflection and an overall debate are sought on the role work and training play as more or less fixed blocks in the calendar of modern society. The original aspect of the topic is that it proposes to look at the time spent on work and training: time is a structuring factor, which both opens opportunities for, and imposes limits on, our social organisation. In planning our future it would therefore be beneficial to know what real opportunities we have work and training and set new goals for the time we these activities. A debate on European experience, experiments, visions etc. could be a significant exercise here.

The debate being sought obviously cannot be initiated at a completely scientific level, nor do we see any prospect of avoiding a certain personal stamp in this contribution. It is based on in-depth knowledge of the development of Danish labour market and training policy in recent decades, knowledge which is also generally available in various multilingual reports. The contribution will therefore not attempt to give an overall Danish view on the topic of the session: work and training in 21st Century society. It is intended instead to compare a selection of issues prompting debate in the labour market and training policy situation today, and on the basis of these examples, which are relatively typical of the times, we will attempt to look into the future in a summarising section.

Foreign colleagues often note that Denmark is a pioneering country, particularly with regard to training. In this contribution we have chosen to take a perhaps rather unfair view, in that we will for the most part only be describing negative developments the country has experienced in organising training programmes. Reference should again be made to existing publications, which in ample measure give a fair general impression.

4.2. The challenges of a knowledge-based society

Here at the threshold of the new century Danish society is experiencing a veritable explosion in training activities, both in the quantity of provisions and in the qualitative requirements in relation to the needs of companies. In the crisis years of the eighties, economists viewed training as a way of holding onto a highly qualified core workforce and at the same time easily develop the potential of the up to fifteen percent who were out of work. Today there is, if not a shortage, at least a scarcity both of candidates for new positions in general, both of young, due to the small age cohorts of young people and to the lack of people with sufficient

experience and training ballast. Companies are operating at high pressure, the potential has been realised as far as has been possible and unemployment is down to a critical level, around five percent ([14]). The situation of scarcity is now threatening the upturn with inflationary setbacks, particularly for the all-important Danish export economy; but it is also a warning to us that our level of training in the longer term may be reduced. All other things being equal, training can be afforded less during an upturn, when market shares have to be secured at a faster pace, than during the conditions we witnessed in the crisis years.

Danish labour market and training reforms over the last five years show clearly that there is concern over the level of training. Some examples will illustrate the willingness of political decision-makers to break with traditional thinking on the question of admission to training.

4.3. The Youth Initiative: training as a duty

The prevailing view is (and has been for the past twenty years) that the country produces too few skilled workers and that young people lack the motivation to undergo the twelve years or so of studying and training required as a minimum to obtain vocational training or an entry ticket to institutes of higher education ([15]). In comparison with Denmark's European partners there is little reason for major concern; but Danish self-perception suggests an ambition to maintain a historical lead and keep the country above average. It should be recalled that the country's economic peak on the world stage in the sixties and seventies was due to a large extent to training, not least the 'labour-market training programmes'. These produced semi-skilled and skilled workers with continuing training right up to middle-management level through a system of publicly financed courses of study. We will return later to the situation relating to these labour market training programmes today.

In brief, it has been found that a fairly constant proportion of young people do not make use of their right to training ([16]). Sociologists who have monitored and studied the group over the past forty years or so describe these young people as showing 'worker solidarity', in the sense that they reproduce their father's or mother's ideal of escaping from school and getting started in manual jobs. This possibility actually exists, inasmuch as there are still many unskilled jobs in the industrial segment – which otherwise are so often claimed to have left behind the 'man with the broom' ([17]). In the collision between national training ambition and these young people it is not the realities that can be used as arguments but merely the sombre long-term prospects which predict excess unemployment for employees without training.

([14]) National Labour Market Authority website: www.ams.dk [cited 18.3.2002]

([15]) Jørgen Mørk, Réformes et nouvelles approches aux problèmes de l'échec scolaire des jeunes au Danemark. GRET, Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, Barcelona and Brussels, 1997.

([16]) Jørgen Hansen: En generation bliver voksen, Danish National Institute for Educational Research, 1997

([17]) These statements can be followed in a number of articles over the last five years in the Ministry of Education journal Uddannelse. An overview of the articles can be accessed on the Ministry of Education website: www.uvm.dk [cited 18.3.2002].

In other words it is the projections which today dictate the political handling of 'worker-solidarity' young people when, after a period of employment, they become unemployed and reveal their weakness on the labour market. They are no longer assigned work at any price, the aim instead being to return them to the training path – the sooner the better. Young people below the age of twenty-five who have worked for one year or more and do not already have training, will therefore under the latest labour market reform lose their right to full benefit unless they start training leading to vocational qualifications within six months. Their only alternative is to find new employment very quickly and thereby become independent of both benefit and the duties contained in the current activation scheme for young people without training: the Youth Initiative.

The Youth Initiative has been assessed and found to be extremely effective ([18]). However, the outcome includes not just the time when training begins but also the time when the young person ceases to be unemployed, i.e. enters work again through self-help. In fact relatively few choose training voluntarily, because in doing so they move over to government training support which is a mixture of a public grant and loan, altogether equivalent to substantially less than full benefit, and less than half the income of an unskilled worker. The scheme is consequently lopsided in the sense that work at any price – even on unreasonable terms – may be a necessity overshadowing everything else for these young people, who are no longer living at home and have perhaps started a family in expectation of a stable income from unskilled work. In a few years it may perhaps be possible to speak of significant pauperisation of these young people.

The interesting aspect of the scheme in the eyes of the politicians is that right is exchanged for duty; to some extent the social logic is valid, with the sole but not insignificant inconsistency that the young person, as mentioned, cannot in reality make use of his or her right to benefit during training. He or she is thoroughly cheated, some will claim; but this is countered with the argument that society is doing the young person a favour by insisting on the need for training leading to vocational qualifications. Most politicians will go so far as to claim that society is acting responsibly towards these young people, who do not know what is in their own best interests.

The scheme looks different to a sociologist, who would regard it as an attempt to commandeer half of the young person's life, i.e. the twelve or so years of education and training required to attain full rights on the labour market. The signal given is clear: young people cannot count on the support of society if they have not done their civic duty and obtained training leading to vocational qualifications. Or, to put a little more directly, when someone is under twenty-five years of age and has no training, even a five-year period of employment cannot qualify him or her for the rights adults attain after just one year. Work is no longer an attractive solution for 'worker-solidarity' young people who want to use their hands.

([18]) The Youth Initiative has been evaluated at national level by the Danish Technological Institute (DTI) in 1997, and at regional level (Storstrøm County) by the FIFU Institute. The same conclusions were drawn.

The Youth Initiative, and particularly the work of assessing it, has opened our eyes to a totally different aspect of the situation affecting this group. It has been found that among a category of firms which employ young unskilled people there is actually a professional culture which more or less automatically returns them to the training path ([19]). It was also found that there is a pattern determining which types of companies promote training. These are in particular medium-sized industrial firms which have a core of skilled labour, typically trained in metals, mechanical engineering, electronics and the like. The specialised collective is strong here, in the sense that it does not let go of the young person once he or she has been integrated into the environment([20]). Concepts such as keeping track, developing oneself, taking greater responsibility etc. are of key significance in companies of this type, which have a tradition of both internal and external continuing training.

It has been said hundreds of times before and cannot be said often enough that 'time for training' for all young people, but particularly for those with the weakest motivation, is a question of timing: of providing the training at exactly the time when it is wanted. This simple experience is not taken into account in the Youth Initiative, whereas it appears that a certain type of company not only knows the art of motivating but also consciously cultivates it. They have the time to wait for the young person's development through daily work; motivation is not taken from a set of rules but from the experience of the technical requirements from the immediate environment, the collective, which the young person is part of. Although these companies cannot be referred to outright as learning organisations, the bottom-line result is the same: training through work. Companies can achieve something which the public labour market policy system cannot. It has in fact been recommended that greater use should be made of this potential by simply subsidising companies which promote training.

4.4. The folk high school: a limited right to training

Just five years ago the young unemployed person may perhaps have chosen to spend a period at one of the country's more than one hundred folk high schools. This, briefly, is a fairly unique Danish (Nordic) form of education where students of all ages and with all kinds of backgrounds spend up to six months in a residential school to develop their personality and democratic convictions. This education does not prepare students for examinations but is based on an unprejudiced dialogue on subjects, topics and specialist fields of current interest or relevance to the participants. The level is high – or, to be exact, as ambitious as possible –

([19]) FIFU Institute, James Høpner and Jørgen Mørk: Ungeindsatsen – en undersøgelse af de unge forsikrede, der bliver ledige, men ikke påbegynder en uddannelse, 1997, Vordingborg.

([20]) In its study, the FIFU Institute does not specifically name the companies which promote and inhibit training. As co-author of the evaluation report, however, I can give some examples of the sectors we studied. The first category includes a large glassworks, an electronics company, a metals company and a single grocery chain. Among examples of companies inhibiting training, we find a biscuit factory, a sugar factory, a tourism business, a number of hotels and restaurants and (other) grocery chains. In other words, this is not a complete survey of the commercial landscape in Denmark.

and often academic; the folk high schools often appear comparable to institutes of higher education. Very few Danes have not spent a period at a folk high school, partly because a prolonged period of residence gives credit towards admission to higher education. Danish politicians, particularly in the rural municipalities, are thoroughly assessed for their commitment to the folk high school movement, and the country has a tradition of choosing a former high-school student as Minister of Education.

A last feature is in the Grundtvigian Christian view, of which the folk high school is the clearest manifestation. The clergyman, poet and politician Grundtvig was a pioneer, over a hundred and fifty years ago, of the first modest high schools for the peasantry, who were to be given a new life and democratic aptitude through adult education. The concept of learning was linked to dialogue on equal terms, respect for the individual and commitment to the Danish cause in relation to the threatening major powers from the south. The result was a kind of school of national sentiment, which developed on its own terms; immersed both in history and in the present; reactionary and revolutionary by turns; but always with its finger on the pulse and in opposition to authoritarian forms of teaching.

Until just five years ago it was common practice for local and national government together to pay an almost hundred percent grant towards periods of residence at folk high schools. Since the labour market reform in 1995 and later cutbacks it is now the responsibility of the participants themselves to pay a large share of the expenses; the number of students at the high schools has fallen sharply as a result. The special nature of the high schools has come into conflict with one of the typical concepts of contemporary labour market policy: 'training leading to vocational qualifications'. As already mentioned, the high schools do not prepare students for examinations; they aim at almost the direct opposite of public testing of individual abilities, namely at developing a personal yardstick for development. The conflict has never been resolved because the two parties do not speak the same language and perhaps do not desire reconciliation. Let us try briefly to summarise the essence of the case.

Education represents a linear process, generally controlled by teaching staff and programmes which lay down the form, content and goals. Opposed to this are the traditional educational concepts of the folk high schools: the development of the individual as a non-linear process, where the student builds up his or her own abilities and skills through a personal and therefore completely unpredictable search for knowledge. Commitment to, and the feeling of owning a stake in, the results is typical of the teaching approach at the high schools. Labour market-oriented politicians do not have much use for this. For them training is obviously a matter of meeting the needs of companies for proficiency in their workforce and this can only be defined through some form of test.

'Training leading to vocational qualifications' is therefore nothing less than training which produces those results which employer and employee organisations, together with the government, regard as suitable. The high schools generally have all three interested parties represented on their boards and to this extent could easily gain acceptance of their courses as leading to vocational qualifications if they simply allowed a leaving test to be set. But very

few do so, and only when compelled to by the disastrous economic consequences of the labour market policy reform of 1995. Unemployed people, whether they are young or old, can no longer obtain grants for high school courses; if they are entitled to benefit, they cannot obtain permission for a period of residence at all without losing their entitlement unless the course leads to a vocational qualification. Neither can employed people, who wish to make use of publicly financed training leave, have a high school period of residence accepted – again with the exception of courses leading to a test.

The labour market reform has limited the right to a period of residence in a high school in an attempt to channel job seekers away from training which in the short term is not marketable in the labour market. In a historical period with are small age cohorts of young people, high employment and a consequent scarcity of the most sought-after skills there is no time for personal development. But the crisis years have taught young people that it pays to start their adult lives with one or two years for personal maturing, before making important choices, and it is not least here that the high schools have had, and for the time being continue to have, their justification. Although the young people continue to reject labour market policy, this no longer operates in favour of the high schools so long as it is cheaper to travel around the world for a year than to pay for a six-month course.

From the point of view of training policy it is depressing to see how little it takes to bring down a national treasure like the folk high school. As it is not based on curricula but on the students' search for knowledge and personal development, a smaller student base may easily cause the high school to fall apart. Quantity and consequently also qualitative diversity are essential for a non-linear process of development. In reality it is precisely the labour market reform that has managed, with what on paper is a small adjustment to the rules on admission and grants, to cause the high school crisis it claims to be healing.

4.5. Training programmes for unskilled and semi-skilled workers: market-controlled admission to training

We are constantly reminded of the need to match training to work, not just when young people are first integrated into the labour market but also more continually in relation to those in gainful employment of all ages. Recurring training has become a necessity, and a key area of interest in this connection is the attempts of companies to put the concept of the learning organisation into practice. The matching is done in relation to an inner concern, removed from public instrument of control, but still to a large extent acting on the resources which the training institutions make available.

It is characteristic of the situation today that it has become impossible for training institutions decisively to match the backgrounds of both young and older people with skills. We therefore face a redefinition of one of the cornerstones of Danish training tradition: training programmes for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Over the last forty years they have represented a national success, a training system with a modular structure for the unskilled

which covers the needs for new skills and ensures that all periods of declining order books can be utilised to improve the qualifications of employees at government expense.

After a number of legislative changes between 1995 and the present, training programmes for semi-skilled workers are now entirely driven by demand. This broadly means that they depend on specific orders from companies which have undertaken to control the matching process and in this connection require a government training allowance. In order to understand how far-reaching this change is we must briefly touch on the administrative structure relating to training programmes for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The training programmes for unskilled/semi-skilled workers are not, despite what might be thought, a government-controlled provision: the government formally only acts as the secretariat for cooperation between employer and employee organisations, which underlie the training programmes for semi-skilled workers. The phenomenon is typically Danish. There are tripartite negotiations underlying most significant decisions on the content, organisation, implementation and financing of training programmes. Until the latest reforms an annual consensus was reached between employer and employee organisations concerning the needs for such courses for semi-skilled workers. This presupposes agreement on how many trainees each of the country's fourteen regional training units – semi-skilled worker schools – should take, when, for how long and for which courses.

So everything was planned down to the smallest detail and certainly not at random. The great difference between then and now is that until the latest reform of the training programmes for semi-skilled workers, broad planning was undertaken at regional level, based on contacts with companies and reports from representative players in the labour market. This resulted in the semi-skilled worker schools preparing to receive a particular number of trainees who could be divided fairly evenly over the year, with an appropriate provision of training specialities and with the necessary teaching staff. However, the essential feature was that companies and employee organisations felt responsible for their expressions of need; thus, to a large extent they attempted to meet expectations to send employees on courses in order to fulfil their obligation to the joint institution.

Today financing is only triggered on the basis of specific orders directly from the companies to the semi-skilled worker school. It might be thought that this comes down to the same thing but the planning timeframe has now been drastically shortened and the requirements for teacher and course preparation have become problematic. The semi-skilled training schools, for good reasons, cannot make their own plans independently of the situation; their only raison-d'être is to anticipate training needs, which they achieve today by forging even closer links with regional companies. This is happening successfully in some cases but the trend is towards trainees being lost.

According to a recent survey undertaken by Aalborg University Centre ([21]), companies are increasingly aiming at replacing unskilled and semiskilled workers with skilled workers in positions traditionally occupied by the former. All other things being equal they thus ensure for themselves a boost in skills and a pay advantage. But this obviously has serious consequences for the rejected unskilled workers. Training programmes for unskilled and semi-skilled workers are now meeting with declining interest from the companies, who hold the key to the enrolment of employees. We have previously discussed the prophecies about the future excess unemployment of unskilled workers; a declining level of training in this population group can only speed up this trend. If waning company interest in the unskilled and semi-skilled worker training programmes is really an expression of a business strategy, then the countdown has truly started for the unskilled.

What is interesting about developments in the semi-skilled worker training programmes is that they show us the end of a historical period. Whereas the unskilled could previously compete in terms of the skill-productivity-pay ratio, the first of these factors has now become so decisive in many companies that people who have to be trained from scratch are not considered. Worker training programmes are without doubt too time consuming for the individual company, particularly during a strong upturn which makes strong demands for technical professionalism and where skilled labour is evidently a realistic alternative. Traditional semi-skilled workers are therefore about to lose their training system, as it is not under their own control but depends on the companies' specific expressions of need.

4.6. Unemployment: a prohibition on training

In the collision between the concepts of work and training, we experience something which is almost a natural law for our social organisation. Whereas someone seeking training is welcome to have periods of work in between his or her studies, it is completely unthinkable that, once employed in a firm, the same person can demand parallel training during working time. An employee can attain a right to this if the firm sees a training need (cf. the semi-skilled worker training programmes). Although things may appear to be different, nevertheless freedom for training for the individual citizen in principle comes to an end once he or she has been admitted to the labour market.

This curious regularity is carried forward consistently in Danish regulations on the right of unemployed people with benefit entitlement to training in that they do not have any – it would prevent them from being available for any employment, which theoretically may turn up at any moment. (They can obviously be *allocated* a right, but that is something quite different from *possessing* the right). If they do not choose to relinquish benefit, the only exception is acceptance from the employment service, which may consider that the path back to a job must necessarily pass through supplementary training, e.g. a semi-skilled workers' course. With the

([21]) Carried out by the Aalborg University Centre for the National Labour Market Authority, 1999.

total periods of unemployment in the crisis years of up to ten years for more than ten percent of the population, it is incomprehensible that it has been possible for the fundamental prohibition on training to be legitimised. But something has also been done with the labour-market policy reforms of recent years, although admission to training during unemployment is still not a right but is subject to an assessment of companies' needs.

The prohibition on training during unemployment has affected and continues to affect the skill areas outside the field of view of the employment services – more accurately, outside the expressed need of the companies. Unemployed people would have been able to adapt to IT development far earlier and with substantially better prospects if they had been allowed to go on self-selected courses at regional commercial schools. They would have been able to keep pace with internationalisation had the doors been open to instruction in the language close to their heart or within the cultural history aspect they found most interesting. For thousands of unemployed people the solution would without doubt simply have been to retrain for a profession which they were attracted to and in which they saw employment prospects. And so on.

The key problem following the latest labour market reforms, which so emphatically plan on more training during periods of unemployment than previously, continues to be the 'blind spots' which remain undiscovered because they are not expressed by the companies. There is a lack here of social responsibility in line with that exercised in relation to young people, who are said not to know what is in their own best interest. The very close Danish tripartite cooperation on work and training has difficulty raising itself above the immediate and the already known. The dominant logic in cooperation is extremely problematic, insofar as it tries to link solidarity concerning admission to training for the labour force to training for the labour market, which can only describe its needs in relation to existing skills. The result is often a kind of mutual preference for obsolete training.

The latest labour-market reforms incorporate training as a possible element in the action plan which the unemployed person – according to the rules and together with the employment service – must implement in order to return to employment. It is a matter of concern here that there is so much retrospection in relation to needs for labour market skills: there are cases of people going through the same basic computer course up to five times during a period of unemployment, simply because the courses were once declared to be relevant to the labour market and were therefore institutionalised as training that is suitable for inclusion in an action plan.

The problem is not willingness to upgrade the skills of the unemployed but the ability to do so. Because of the concept of availability, training courses cannot be prolonged; neither can they retrain the individual, skilled or unskilled. In practice, the training element in an action plan can only aim at limited key skills, which can be acquired within a foreseeable time and as an extension to already documented skills. Retraining in the real sense of the term, i.e., reorientation in relation to the labour market, does not exist in Denmark, though the country does have a law on retraining. It only exists in the sense of training for continued employment

in a firm which is replacing its production processes (a typical example being the graphic industry).

4.7. The social value of training programmes in the 21st Century

We have given some critical examples of how training programmes have developed in recent years and how attempts at political control of quantity and quality have made it more difficult to get training today. There is no clear social awareness today, as there was in the past, of what is a right and what is a duty in relation to training – except among young people, who probably had it before the Youth Initiative was invented.

The Youth Initiative should therefore be regarded as the expression of a social authority which tells untrained young people that they cannot lay claim to treatment as adults if they become unemployed. They are considered to have failed in their training duty, which society suddenly invented five years ago. This duty paradoxically does not apply retrospectively to equivalent adults, who have been inactive since the crisis years up to the present day. These people continue to have no right to use a period of unemployment for training. In contrast to young people, they have to be available for any job, whether it comes along or not.

Time for training has acquired a very firm definition within the Youth Initiative: it is the period up to the age of twenty-five. Beyond this threshold lies adult life, a grey area in which right and duty do not exist but where we find 'schemes' for every imaginable target group.

The category of restrictive schemes, which we have chosen to devote ourselves to in the previous sections, includes regulating the situation of adult unemployed people in relation to qualification. The basis is an unmistakable logic: time for training can only be taken at the expense of time for unemployment, which in legislation is equated with work. We find the same logic operating in the example of declining entry to semi-skilled workers' courses: unskilled people in employment can only obtain time for training at the expense of time for work – and here companies are increasingly an obstacle. In our example of the folk high schools we find the same logic at work once again. The politicians agree that there is no time for this type of training because it does not fulfil the criteria for replacing work, or for that matter unemployment, as it does not provide qualifications.

When we use the term schemes, it is in an attempt to understand practice as dependent on a well-developed set of rules, the motives for which are not necessarily set down on paper. We could also use the term rationale, a public one for the unemployed and a private one for the employed, but the difference seems minimal. All three examples just examined show us restrictions created by society in relation to training, and they are quite worrying. Work is ideological slavery in the sense that as a yardstick for our values it keeps society at a controlled level of knowledge and skills. Just what we do not need in the 21st Century.

There are also scores of training-promotion schemes; we have not presented them because in reality they do not make life easier for the population groups we have chosen to concern ourselves with. These constitute a composite population, which enters the next century without immediate prospects of more suitable treatment on the part of the training system. What is it then that society imposes?

Firstly, a training duty for those young people who are to be part of the labour market for the next forty years. The scheme is perhaps a correct social arrangement, but the result is demonstrably that the worker-solidarity young people are forced back into unskilled employment because they cannot afford to take training grants. The Youth Initiative comes too late for them, or at any rate not at the right time.

In addition there are the unskilled, who in the next ten to twenty years will include the intake of young people without training. The entry into training for this group is declining because companies prefer to employ skilled workers who do not have to be trained from scratch. The level of training of the unskilled is falling steadily; they could become an enormous socio-economic burden within the course of a few years.

The same can be said about the unemployed. We have seen a very sharp increase in the last ten years in the number of citizens on transitional income, a phenomenon which may be viewed as an indication that early retirement or something similar is the only way in which society can create quality of life for unemployed people who did not have the opportunity to obtain qualifications. This group will be joined by people from the ranks of the unskilled, cf. above.

Finally there are the potential folk high school students who remain outside these schools and in all probability find other routes for personal development. They represent a loss of social potential, a condemnation of those politicians who closed the till without a sense of the value of the high schools. But why is it so interesting to emphasise this loss, which in spite of everything is perhaps moderate?

When we look into the world of training in the next century we must try to expose some of the tendencies apparent today. This can be done more or less scientifically, but also more or less intuitively, which we will attempt to do here. We have previously considered the developmental concept of the folk high schools and will now briefly look at its potential in relation to the salient features of society in the next century.

Children's learning in the Danish primary and lower secondary school has much in common with the non-linear education process we find in the high schools. It is characterised by unpredictability; more specifically, a mixture of inductive, deductive and abductive ([22]) acquisition of knowledge and skills. The primary and lower secondary school produces young people who are predisposed to develop what we call patchwork skills, composite profiles in

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([22]) Adductive = hypothetically deductive

relation to employment. They can do a little of everything and are not far from actually being specialists in several areas. That is, they become educated in a sense which the companies too may value, though there is no certification of this type of proficiency. In job advertisements in the press we can already see a tendency for firms to seek such proficiency. We are convinced that the future lies in patchwork skills that are demonstrated through work, not through examinations.

With the loss of the folk high school tradition, society has been set back in development – back to a point where children suddenly become the pioneers of non-linear learning and for the asymmetrical job profiles of the next century. The folk high schools offered a possibility to hold on to and further develop these capacities, namely a claim that it make socio-economic sense to free up the framework of training and that the test-based training system can be thoroughly overhauled if we encourage people to feel that they own a stake in knowledge and skills. The losers in the folk high school game are not least the population groups which might benefit from a rejection of too restrictive a training concept and the schemes we analysed previously.

Not least, the learning organisation, as a typical phenomenon of our times, can be seen as a symptom that a test-based training system is too sluggish to meet the needs of the labour market. We have previously noted that certain types of firms have such a strong professional culture that even the most vulnerable on the labour market, the young unemployed, are returned to the training path. In these firms there are no attitude barriers towards a learning process, which takes time because it has to take account of the motivation of the individual person. Work here is the variable which operates as foundation, mediator and proof of training all at once. We therefore see in these firms promising prospects, with new ways of looking after the interests of those who are searching for training on the labour market. Whether they can be turned into an instrument of labour market policy, as has been recommended ([23]), is something which time will tell.

4.8. Concluding remarks

We have attempted to show with this article how work as a yardstick of our values keeps society at a controlled level of knowledge and skills. The real motives beyond the many restrictive schemes in the Danish education system have not received the attention they deserve. The issue is certainly worth a debate, but imagine if it could also change conditions for the unemployed: they will exist in the next century, too, and perhaps society will no longer be able to afford their inactivity – not even in the name of work!

([23]) FIFU Institute, James Høpner and Jørgen Mørk: Ungeindsatsen – en undersøgelse af de unge forsikrede, der bliver ledige, men ikke påbegynder en uddannelse, 1997, Vordingborg.

5. The OECD's thematic review on adult learning. The themes under review ([24])

Patrick Werquin

At their meeting held in January 1996, the Ministers of Education of the OECD countries stated that far-reaching changes were needed to make lifelong learning a reality for all. 'Strategies for lifelong learning call for unreserved acceptance of new norms, approaches and goals, to be applied across all systems and adapted to the culture and situation of each country.' In recognition of the fact that adults face particular problems in participating in lifelong learning, the Ministers invited the OECD to 'review and explore new types of teaching and learning suited to adults, whether they are working, unemployed or retired.' This mandate by the Ministers was an extension to the lengthy process of collating and analysing data which demonstrate the problems posed by the fact that institutional policies and arrangements do not adequately respond to the growing importance of knowledge and education in our societies. The Ministers of Labour of the OECD countries spelt out this message in October 1997. Recognising that people who do not have the opportunity to learn at all ages face difficulties in the labour market, they stressed 'the need to ensure that all persons of an age to be gainfully employed have broad lifelong access to learning opportunities in order to preserve and enhance their employability'.

In 1998, the OECD and the United States Department of Education jointly organised a conference on the theme of *Adult Learners* in order to review the results of recent research into training which responded to adults' needs, and into practices in this field. The aim of the conference was to follow up work previously carried out by the Secretariat for Complementary Training of Workers and to complement the activities of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) on the theme of *Combating Exclusion through Adult Education*. One of the fundamental lessons drawn from the conference is that the introduction of lifelong learning strategies requires not only resources but also a new perception of teaching and learning:

(a) Making lifelong learning a reality for all requires long-term action so as to move from a teaching strategy based on providing a fixed range of learning activities to a 'strategy of spreading responsibility', allowing adults to take part more easily in learning activities in differing contexts;

([24]) This paper, which was prepared for Agora 7, is based on the terms of reference for the preparation of the Thematic Review.

It has also been given in Québec, at the 'International Seminar on Adult Education and Training Policies in Industrialised Countries' organised by the UNESCO Institute for Education and the Québec Ministry of Education, 29 November – 2 December 1999.

(b) Within certain limits, the teaching strategy has proved effective, but one of the limitations is that it has not succeeded in reaching the majority of vulnerable adults, that is, adults who have no desire to learn, and those who have the desired motivation but are also excluded from most lifelong learning opportunities because they lack basic skills and abilities.

One of the conclusions of the Washington conference was also that an international thematic review might be a useful tool for capturing and analysing what could be learnt from experience of adult learning, and for understanding how the framework of provision and the institutional environment might be more supportive of this type of activity. Such a thematic review is now one of the programme activities of the OECD. It is a joint activity of the Employment Policy Analysis Division, which reports to the Employment, Labour and Social Affairs Committee (ELSA), and of the Education and Training Division, which reports to the Education Committee.

This paper describes the population being studied and the themes to be addressed by the teams of experts. But first, it provides a brief reminder of what a thematic review is.

5.1. Description of the thematic review on adult learning

The purpose of this activity is to examine whether the quality and quantity of learning opportunities for adults are adequate. It also aims to examine how adults' access to learning might be improved. It sets out to analyse:

(a) Patterns of participation and non-participation by adults in learning;

(b) Problems that arise because of these patterns;

(c) Policy programmes and institutional arrangements that have been used by Member countries to develop learning opportunities for adults;

(d) Options that can be seen as 'good practices' under different institutional circumstances and the way in which these may be applied more widely within the country and elsewhere.

This work will make use of the available results of learning activities provided for adults, and of their participation in such activities. The data will be taken from baseline reports to be drawn up by the national authorities of the countries taking part in the Review. Other OECD sources will also be used: the International Adult Literacy Survey; Education Indicators; the work of CERI on 'Combating Exclusion through Adult Education', the Evaluation of Active Labour Market Policies, and other recent analyses, in particular the chapter on the training of employed adults in the 1999 edition of *The Employment Outlook*.

The Review will also provide an opportunity to identify the analyses and data needed if the public debate on adult learning is to be held in full knowledge of the issue.

The Review may look at a wide sample of adults ranging from those who master neither language nor basic skills to the retired and to skilled workers who need to update their skills. The Education Committee stated that it was very keen to examine the learning needs of all adults, without distinction, and to explore needs associated with both vocational and non-vocational purposes. The members of the Employment Committee, on the other hand, gave greater weight to looking at adult learners who face, or are in danger of facing, difficulties in the labour market, i.e. those at risk of exclusion. The members of these two committees nonetheless agreed that the training needs of scientists and other highly trained people were of lower priority since they and their employers were well placed to meet their needs.

In addition to the different focuses of interest shown by the authorities concerned with education and those concerned with the labour market, there were also significant differences between countries over the population to be studied. One country, for example, was particularly interested in the nature of the opportunities available to unskilled adult workers; another, in women entering the labour market or returning after spending a number of years bringing up one or more children; a third, in skilled men who did not take part in continuing training; a fourth, in training for temporary workers; and a fifth, in the long-term unemployed.

The choice of sub-populations to be examined in each country will have to be based on information supplied by both education and labour market authorities. This choice is only one option left up to the countries involved, and the Review will essentially cover all adults, with no other distinction made in advance. The baseline reports will be drawn up by the countries in such a way as to provide information on the segments of the population to be selected if the need arises – size, occupational status, socio-demographic features, nature and scope of needs – and analyses of the reasons why the segments of the population selected are of greatest priority.

At the time when this paper is being published, nine countries are firmly committed to the review process: Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Nine other countries are still making a decision. The work should take from eighteen months to two years, starting from the end of 1999.

The themes to be studied will now be set out.

5.2. The themes selected

The provision of learning opportunities for adults of adequate quality and quantity, and their accessibility to different segments of the adult population, depend on the interplay of supply and demand in a given institutional context. On the supply side, questions of major interest relate to the nature of the learning opportunities available: who supplies them, at what cost, and in what quality? On the demand side, key questions relate to whether the various learning objectives and styles of the full range of potential adult learners are taken into account. For example, are learning opportunities available at times of day and in places which meet the

needs of adults with occupational or family responsibilities? The interplay between supply and demand, together with institutional arrangements, determine whether there are sufficient incentives for the providers and users of education and training. There is also the important question whether the inadequacies of the market are responsible for the lack of adequate learning opportunities. Since a large part of adult learning takes place within enterprises, the type of training which the latter look for, and the incentives which they have to provide opportunities, are major factors in access to learning. From this point of view, the size of an enterprise is an important parameter since learning opportunities are fewer in small establishments. The last of the essential questions is whether the different categories of learner all have 'good' incentives to learn and whether they all have the financial means to cover the costs of learning. Can these different categories also establish links between the various learning opportunities so that this learning can be recognised by the market and by other institutions?

In the light of all that has been said above, the work carried out so far has identified four major groups of problems which hinder participation by adults in learning throughout life: the inadequacy of the incentives and motivation to learn offered to adults; the complexity of the links between different training schemes and the lack of transparency in the way in which the outcomes of learning activities are expressed in the various institutional and non-institutional learning contexts; the inappropriateness of teaching and training methods; and the lack of coordination between the actions of the various public authorities which have a direct or indirect impact on learning throughout life. These issues will now be discussed.

In each country taking part in the Thematic Review, the baseline report and the report by the team of experts will deal with the four themes set out below, focusing on the segments of the population selected as having greatest priority. The comparative report which will conclude the Thematic Review will deal with the same themes, covering all the segments covered in the whole range of national baseline reports.

Theme 1: How can governments, social partners and other actors improve the incentives and motivation for adults – including those at risk – to learn?

One commonly held idea is that many adults do not take part in learning activities because the incentives and motivation for individuals and employers are too poor for them to invest in education and training. The existence of positive 'knock-on effects' in the field of adult education and training is widely recognised. The functioning of the market never allows these effects to be fully apprehended, and one of the consequences is that individuals and enterprises do not invest enough in training and spend less than the rate of return would justify. Small businesses may have greater difficulties than large enterprises in fully appreciating the benefits of their investments in training, partly because of a higher turnover of workers. On the part of individuals, non-participation in academic learning activities does not necessarily reflect a lack of willingness or an inability to learn. Often it reveals the absence of incentives – financial returns to intellectual investment being poor or uncertain – or the fact that those concerned do not realise or believe that training will lead to fuller

personal development. At the Washington conference, it was noted that adults' motivation to take part in learning activities depends in large measure on the usefulness of what is learnt and the opportunities which they will have to use it, particularly in order to increase their occupational mobility or to help their children with homework. Non-participation may also result from a lack of motivation due to a social or occupational system which attaches little value to learning or the desire of adults not to repeat the failures that they suffered during their initial education.

To what extent can the low levels of participation in the various types of learning provided for adults be explained by the expected poor financial returns – in terms of earnings and/or employability v. high opportunity costs – or by the considerable uncertainty surrounding such returns? What groups of adults are the worst affected by poor incentives? Are there examples of policies and practices which influence participation in learning activities by enhancing financial returns and reducing the degree of uncertainty?

What approaches have proved effective in reinforcing incentives and motivation to learn among the most disadvantaged workers, the long-term unemployed and other adults not registered with a public employment agency?

The idea is often put forward that better evaluation and awareness of the results of learning reinforces incentives to learn because they enable individuals to send more legible signals to employers and training providers about what they already know. One approach, a skills survey, has been used for several years in some countries to recognise the academic abilities of people returning to a scheme of formal education. But such approaches do not necessarily record the skills and abilities needed in the workplace, or at least not any better than do formal certificates. To what extent have systems for evaluating and measuring the outcomes of learning been developed? What are the methods used to verify the skills, abilities and knowledge informally acquired outside formal education and training schemes? To what extent, and under what conditions, are the skills, abilities and knowledge acquired informally recognised in the process of collective bargaining? What are the barriers which prevent the adoption of systems for evaluating and recognising the outcomes of learning acquired in an informal context?

What are the most fruitful ways of enhancing the financial incentives to invest in adult learning for large, small and medium-sized enterprises, and for governments and individuals? What arrangements can improve cooperation between employers and workers in order to increase the quality, volume and spread of training, and what role can governments play in improving that cooperation?

Does existing research fully explore all the factors affecting the incentives and motivation of the various groups of adults to participate in learning throughout life, and what gaps in the research that is needed must be filled as a priority?

Which learning arrangements, training providers and services that could be established are the most effective in satisfying the education and training needs, and all the other related needs, of

the most disadvantaged workers, the long-term unemployed and other adults not registered with a public employment agency, so that they start learning again?

Which policies and programmes have succeeded in promoting individuals' personal responsibility for their own learning needs among disadvantaged adults? Which have been most effective at informing the most reticent individuals of learning opportunities and the non-financial advantages that they might derive from them (personal development, mutual assistance, greater autonomy, participation in civic life and more varied cultural activities, for example)?

Theme 2: An integrated approach to the provision of and participation in adult learning

Adult learning is made up of a large number of fragmented elements, embracing not only the activities provided in a learning system in the proper sense but also those at the workplace, at home and in other contexts. Academic, vocational and social and cultural types of learning are usually provided in isolation from one another. Admittedly, some institutional arrangements serve to link the learning activities provided in different contexts (distance learning techniques and 'open universities' provide learning at home; higher education establishments and employers cooperate in providing training), but these do not exist in any systematic way. There is no justification for saying that there is a 'global' strategy of adult learning which could serve as a basis for meeting the *needs of all adults*. There are to the best of our knowledge only isolated cases of programmes which attempt to target *the full range of learning needs of particular groups of adults* (in their occupational, family and social roles). Learning organised in the context of the labour market, for example, sets out to achieve a limited number of goals among its target populations. This lack of connection with learning provided by other bodies prevents the emergence of any global strategy. Similarly, learning provided for adults in the socio-cultural context is usually planned and administered separately from training likely to be given at the workplace, although there are notable exceptions in this regard. Moreover, the knowledge acquired in the different contexts of learning is evaluated and validated according to different criteria and by different authorities. Its validation and official recognition vary and often depend more on the context of learning than on the content; the possibilities of transferring experience from one context of learning to another are often minimal or uncertain.

The introduction of a strategy giving adults the means to learn calls for a multitude of learning methods that can be adapted to an almost infinite number of possible combinations of individual needs and contexts of learning. It is not enough for the state to provide a limited number of 'take it or leave it' training courses. At the Washington conference, several participants pointed to the interesting case of 'brokerage services', which serve as intermediaries, enabling adults with particular needs and learning styles to find the learning conditions which suit them from among a wide range of learning possibilities, and from among support services which are far more varied and much less institutionalised. The need to expand brokerage services shows the new role of government implicit in a strategy of giving

adults the means to learn for themselves. While responsibility for meeting adults' learning needs lies chiefly with those who regulate and administer learning structures outside the education system, as well as with individuals and the households to which they belong, it is imperative that the state should remain the provider of last resort when the market breaks down. The following detailed questions may be selected:

What steps are being taken or could be taken to ensure that potential learners have easy access to exhaustive and reliable information and to advice about all the learning possibilities on offer?

Do the current providers of adult learning also offer the support needed to break down the barriers holding back participation (lack of means of transport, child care, health service)? Do the providers and the individuals have the means and incentives to coordinate learning activities with the necessary logistics? To what extent are shortfalls in adult participation due to providers' insufficient involvement in the process of material support? To what extent does this result from lack of resources?

What factors inhibit, and what others encourage, compatibility with other activities such as a job or job-seeking?

When learning opportunities depend on existing institutional arrangements – learning programmes for adults, training programmes organised in the context of the labour market, university continuing education programmes – how easy or difficult is it for adults to gain access to different possibilities, and to select those which interest them in order to combine them in a personalised learning project?

Are there barriers to the entry of new providers into the adult learning market (these barriers may include regulations limiting access by certain new providers to public funding; de facto restrictions on recognition of learning; and indirect public subventions for providers which enable them to offer prices lower than the real cost of provision)?

How is knowledge which has been acquired in different learning contexts evaluated and recognised? To what extent are the skills acquired in one particular learning context – through a university continuing education course, for example – recorded in language that is understood in other contexts (at the workplace, for instance), and vice versa? What part is played by certificated outcomes of learning in decisions on recruitment, promotion and levels of remuneration? To what degree are the outcomes of learning acquired in one jurisdiction (state, province, region, etc.) recognised in others? Is the lack of recognition a serious obstacle to learning throughout life?

Are there other means (e.g. counselling, Internet information services) of linking the learning provided in different contexts more closely together?

Is it relatively difficult for certain groups of adults to gain access to the desired information, or is it more complicated for them to participate in learning activities because of problems

associated with the various points discussed above? How can these problems be effectively resolved?

Theme 3: Improving the quality, pedagogy and variety of learning provision

Under this theme it is essential to ask whether the content, pedagogy and mode of provision of adult learning activities are suited to the learning needs and learning styles of this group of populations, and whether the institutional framework is appropriate. The importance of the questions posed below will vary according to the group(s) of adults selected for the Thematic Review.

In what sense do the quality, pedagogy and variety of learning opportunities affect participation by adults judged to be in greatest need?

What lessons, bearing in mind the approaches used in teaching and learning, and learning arrangements, can be drawn from the programmes provided in the labour market for particular groups of adults, such as the long-term unemployed?

How could the role of the workplace be strengthened as a key place of learning for the least well educated? Are some strategies of management, supervision and team work, and/or use of technology, particularly effective at facilitating such learning? If so, how can they be encouraged?

Are there particular strategies (non-face to face teaching such as distance learning, monitoring and self-learning groups; learning based on information and communications technology) which appear to be underused even though they are judged effective? How can their use be expanded?

Under what conditions do learning activities for 'leisure' or non-vocational purposes provide a useful starting point for learning for more work-oriented purposes or, at least, for improving access to vocational preparation? Are sufficient efforts being made to find the most effective mode of learning for the different groups of adults, and how can learning be better combined with occupational and leisure activities?

Are some learning providers more successful than others at identifying and satisfying the needs of certain groups of adults?

How do governments ensure that providers comply with quality standards such as those laid down by the Information Systems Organisation (ISO) and the Association française de normalisation (AFNOR)? What is the impact of these various quality standards on the ability and willingness of learning providers to satisfy the various learning needs?

Do the various learning contexts (including the workplace and learning programmes provided under active labour market policies) meet the needs of the different groups of learners? What are the obstacles preventing the proper implementation of proven strategies?

Theme 4: Improving policy coherence and effectiveness

Even though adult education and training may be expanding, they remain structurally and financially weak and isolated. The compartmentalisation of institutional arrangements, which is so evident from the point of view of the adult learner, can be seen in the lack of coherence and coordination among the bodies running them. This state of affairs has its origins in two types of difficulties. Firstly, there is a lack of *vertical* integration. That is to say, adult education and training programmes are not well integrated with initial secondary and higher education programmes. Secondly, there is a need for *horizontal* integration: education and training policies must be coordinated with other policies, particularly in the fields of employment and social affairs, which affect people's work and leisure.

Existing practices mean that the decision-makers in various fields are not responsible for a shared strategy for adult learning and that learners' views on access to learning opportunities are not a criterion in the design and implementation of policies which have an impact on adult learning. An important aspect of horizontal coordination is the respective roles played by public authorities and private actors. A number of different policies directly or indirectly affect the incentives which influence learning demand, both among individuals and among enterprises, and the supply of learning opportunities by the education authorities and the private sector. The limited range of opportunities, whatever the institutional context, means that the articulation between what should be in the public domain and what in the private, has to be clarified and made more visible. This requires a greater degree of cooperation between public and private actors than has usually been seen in education and training policy until now.

One of the consequences of the poor coordination of learning policies is that they do not necessarily reinforce one another and, in certain cases, they can even be counter-productive. Another consequence is that there may be gaps in the provision of education and training: some needs expressed by adults may not fall within the remit of any ministry, nor of any existing institution. This compartmentalisation may also mean that governments are not well prepared to evaluate the whole range of adult learning needs. Another area of difficulty is the dissemination of good practice and the ability of decision-makers and practitioners to draw lessons from the various national experiences. One problem, commonly identified at the Washington conference, concerns the absence of communication between research, innovation and everyday practice. Generally, effective innovations remain isolated within institutional hierarchies. Success is often achieved thanks solely to the actions of inspired individuals – not to incentives that are part of the system and reward good performance. Furthermore, it is rare for success in one field – training for the unemployed, for instance – to inspire the same type of activities in others. The Washington conference revealed factors showing an apparent contradiction between an abundance of innovative practices in adult learning and of research into what works, and a vagueness in general policy frameworks and in institutions which are not sufficiently developed to meet adult learning needs. In short, there is still a huge gap between exemplary practices and current practice.

The main challenge facing learning policy is still the need to deal with the links between the vertical and horizontal dimensions mentioned above. In order to do so, it is necessary to find ways of involving very different groups of stakeholders – learners, their families and communities; the official education institutions; the embryonic group of private providers of training and non-governmental organisations; the public employment service; the employers; the trade unions; and all levels of government, especially local government. Since a large part of adult training takes place within enterprises, the participation of employers and trade unions is extremely important both for policy development and for provision of training programmes. Even if government is in a better position to establish the frameworks for decisions, such as those required for the issue of qualifications, training providers, employers and trade unions must be closely involved in the process of certification and recognition of what is learnt through training. Another field requiring sustained attention is the evaluation of public policies. The participants at the Washington conference believed that in order to have a strategy adopted, it was essential to demonstrate its effectiveness by improving evaluation of the measures put in place by the public authorities and of the results obtained. They noted that measurement of a whole range of benefits of adult learning is still underdeveloped in many fields, such as its contribution to better productivity, earnings and financial security; reduced health expenditure on higher age groups; help with children's education, a more developed civic sense and a more rewarding social and cultural life.

The questions which may be examined under this theme are, for example:

Adult learning needs do not necessarily coincide with the concept of learning as it is perceived by those responsible for compartmentalised policies and institutions. Although it is true that practitioners charged with putting policies into practice may be uncomfortably aware of the many obstacles encountered by their clients in learning, the mechanism necessary for them to be heard may not be in place. Do the decision-makers have means of identifying, and satisfying, adults' learning needs, and of providing support services such as transport, child care and health care? How can adults' needs be evaluated in a spirit of openness, using a method which will not result in a partial diagnosis of learning needs? How can provision of support services be coordinated more efficiently?

In most cases, adult learning is neither institutionalised nor academic and takes place in contexts other than those within the remit of Ministries of Education and Labour. A good strategy requires the public authorities to bear in mind all the main contexts in which adults learn. What obstacles prevent their having a coordinated view of the different fields of action? Are there exemplary practices for combating fragmentation and incoherence in policy? What methods make it possible to evaluate the impact of existing policies on learning, and to maximise the complementarity between different schemes and different ministries?

The social partners play an important role in both providing learning opportunities and determining demand for them. What are the most effective approaches to enhancing coordination between government and the social partners in the development and provision of policy? What types of mechanisms – individual learning plans, better evaluation and

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recognition of the outcomes of learning – might improve links between the various sectors, providing education and training services in a way which will ensure that opportunities are more accessible to learners and which meet the needs of employers? Are there examples of good agreements, reached through collective bargaining, concerning different adults' learning needs, allowing easier participation – e.g., by providing training leave – and providing stronger incentives to learn (e.g., by linking qualifications and skills acquired with wages and salaries)?

Do existing evaluations deal with questions relating to policy and coordination programmes? Do they provide a useful diagnosis of the reasons why such and such an approach succeeds or fails? Do they fully measure outcomes which go well beyond the objectives of a training programme but are of benefit to learners? Is it possible to speed up the process of evaluating innovations and applying on a larger scale those that have proved themselves? How can the public authorities and the social partners encourage the systematic introduction of links between the research community, innovators and ordinary practitioners, not only in learning activities of an academic nature but also in schemes using the new technologies and in other contexts of learning?

What new approaches are needed in the way in which policies are formulated and programme provision is defined if there is to be a full range of services and their distribution is to be coordinated?

6. The contexts of training

Saul Meghnagi

6.1. Introduction

Educational research has shown (see Jobert, Marry and Tanguy 1995) that there is widespread consensus among scholars as to some of the basic assumptions which are needed to analyse the relationship between training and work. Skills are acquired through both training and work, and these two elements can only be assessed once it is clear what is meant by 'skills', both work-related and social. The communication, creation and acquisition of knowledge happen both inside and outside education systems; they are the result of both intentional actions and natural processes. People are educated in every place and at every stage of their lives, and participation in an educational process is governed by circumstances at the place of work and at home. Research usually tries to establish a dialectical relationship between the various aspects of learning, which used to be seen in isolation: the 'breakdown' in the pattern of life's stages, developments in employment, with less regular work patterns, and a sense of insecurity in jobs which were always thought to be stable, and the 'contextual' aspect of the acquisition of skills. This article concentrates on these aspects of the analysis, focusing on the connections between them.

6.2. The breakdown in the pattern of life's stages

Demographic developments in all European countries in recent decades have seen a reduction in the birth rate and an increase in life expectancy. There have been fundamental changes in the accepted stages of a person's life, and in their duration, and this has had considerable repercussions on people's way of living and behaving, and on the social system, the market, and the organisation of work. Two processes have taken place at different times in Europe in recent decades (Saraceno 1991). The first was a gradual convergence between the institutional rules governing the patterns of life of different individuals and groups. There followed the second process, as yet unfinished, of the breakdown of these established norms.

The first of these two processes, the so-called 'institutionalisation of the pattern of life', was the result of several linked factors. These included closer control of people's lives by factors such as the labour market, companies and the State, with the introduction of rules governing the definition and length of specific periods of life, affecting choices and career paths. (Examples include the definition of the age of entering and leaving the job market, the minimum age for entering and leaving the school system, and the legally established minimum age for marriage.) The restrictions imposed by this combination of social and

cultural control mechanisms were compensated by forms of security against illness, unemployment and inability to work.

This set of factors, and others associated with them, led to the development of the concept of a 'normal' pattern of life, with the notions of 'appropriate ages' and of more or less 'conventional' patterns of work, family and schooling. Access to a 'normal pattern of life', which was a requirement for social respectability, was dependent on the economic situation of the individual or the group, although differences associated with social stratification remained, educational and working careers being shorter and the ageing process occurring earlier among the lower classes. People such as the under-employed, the unemployed, both youth and adult, workers in the black economy, some rural workers, and almost all immigrants, were excluded, either partly or wholly, from the main effects of this regularisation of the labour market by external factors, making it difficult to establish an ideal model after which to strive. Furthermore, the family system and the division of labour between the sexes came to be seen as complementary to the organisation of work and the social structure, women taking on the greater part of essential domestic work.

The second process, the de-institutionalisation of the stages of life, is seen in elements of differentiation and individuality within these stages, along with a relaxation of the restrictions imposed by conventionality and stability, and runs counter to the first process. Faced with growing unemployment, there has been in general less certainty that a job will last, less predictability of certain stages and career opportunities, a greater requirement for flexible working hours, less well defined working conditions, and a continuing weakening of the conditions, resources and forms of social security. Other models have gradually been developing alongside the earlier model founded on security, stability and regularity; some of these have been the result of the wishes and interests of individuals and groups, but in general they are the result of the development of flexibility and de-institutionalisation of the stages of life. Typically, the 'usual order' of stages and sequences of study, work, and social and family life has broken down, the 'conventional' idea of what is suitable and 'right' for a given age has changed, and the various forms of social security are inadequate for the new conditions of life, particularly in relation to employment. This situation is aggravated by the as-yet unresolved problem of the division of domestic work between the sexes. The creation of new models of 'normality' has had some effect on the general career paths for women which are emerging from expectations of parity with men as regards the division of duties and the new opportunities that they have to manage their own lives.

The result of the above-mentioned factors may be not only a reinforcement (Rossi 1997) of old inequalities, but also the creation of new ones, between the sexes, classes, and groups of different ethnic origin, geographical location or age. Those citizens' rights which were acquired with such effort, and the recent – though partial – guarantees of equality between the sexes or of lifelong economic security have begun to break down, and the result is not only irregularities in the pattern of life, but also an inevitable conflict between the generations when it comes to the use of facilities and to access to social, economic and job-related opportunities. The mere fact of belonging to a particular generation group, which may be

meaningful for statistical purposes, does not take into account a person's circumstances, attitudes, behaviour, and ways of seeing things and of interpreting the present. The variables of sex, schooling, educational qualifications, and place of residence are inextricably entwined with family responsibilities, the point reached in an occupational career, the degree of involvement in business, and the kind of work, whether full or part-time, secure or uncertain. These factors must be complemented by an exploration of the past, an assessment of the present, and a vision of the future, in which work and changing social conditions will be out of joint. In this context, consideration of training will be more precise if it is linked not only to a specific occupational skill, but also to people's ability to cope with the changes in their own lives and work, and relations with other people of different ages, gender, culture and ethnic origin. Vocational training has a clear social dimension, and the skills to be developed should be defined by the need to extend the reference contexts rather than by a detailed focus on specific contexts.

6.3. The evolutionary dimension of work

The 'natural' behaviour of humans is conditioned by beliefs, customs, and written and unwritten rules. It is tied closely to cultural changes and, of course, defined by social context. In advanced modern societies this interdependence, which we may define as anthropological, can be identified by means of what we have called the 'institutionalisation' and, conversely, the 'de-institutionalisation' of people's lives. These processes depend on and interact with a combination of changes in society and work.

The extension of the pre-work phase of life is an example of an obvious consequence of people's living longer lives. In the same way, the changes in the amounts of time devoted to socially necessary work in various activities is related to the crisis in systems of public care. Throughout the entire economic system there are more flexible patterns of employment, and new terms and conditions of employment are gradually spreading; these vary widely from sector to sector, company to company and, particularly, person to person. Within this market there co-exist a large number of different skills, employment relationships, and access, or lack of it, to work.

These relationships vary in their approach to basic conditions, and to opportunities for training and for professional development at work. The nature and length of this training, and the influence employers and, less usually, workers, have on it will determine workers' conditions of employment. If the training is long, complex and has rarity value, then workers will have access to conditions of employment which protect them from competition, and to further opportunities for training. The more workers are able to control their own training, the greater their power in relation to employers and the market itself. Thus, in a climate of market deregulation, different types of balance will be are achieved.

On a lower level, enterprises may call for performance which requires shorter training, does not assume reliability, and tends to be associated with unstable conditions of employment.

Young people with a low level of education probably account for the majority of this sector of the labour market. At a slightly higher level are activities which, although not requiring training, demand reliability and trustworthiness, and are compensated by conditions of employment which provide conventional guarantees but do not exclude the possibility of redundancy. This group consists mainly of people of middling age and education, and older workers. For a fairly consistent number of workers, the advantages and commitment associated with considerable investment in technical and organisational training are balanced by stability of employment, access to careers of reasonable length, and positions of responsibility. Swift and remunerative career progress and fewer bars to promotion within organisations are offered to those who have qualifications which are a rarity in the market and can perform expert technical and management functions. The skills in these cases are acquired through complex training courses, and the careers develop through mobility, with the worker moving between enterprises, between employment and self-employment, and between industry and the tertiary sector. Here, job stability depends more on the wishes of the worker than on those of the employer.

This variety of approach on the part of employers is reflected in the use of various methods of recruitment (both general and particular) and of different criteria (collective and individual), according to the qualities and skills that are required in different fields. It is also reflected in the differing amounts of money invested by enterprises in training, and the varying quality of that training. However, none of this takes account of the growing 'irregular' work which is developing outside the formal business economy. Indeed, the simple difference between employment and unemployment appears to have been superseded, and it must be remembered that many forms of work and possible work situations are often temporary and insecure, particularly for people with little education and no qualifications. Work, or lack of it, is defined in practice by the way in which time is organised in the long and the short term, the shape of the individual's various relationships and thoughts, the kind of identity conferred by work experience, and work itself.

Studies of the different forms of education (Accornero 1997; Reyneri 1997) have clarified the relations between the various economic sectors, the ways in which inequalities between geographical areas are cumulative, the methods of distributing resources between the different sectors of the population, and their attendant cultural and social changes. This has led to a search for methods of analysing the increasing links between the composition of the social classes and those elements of the labour market which have remained outside the traditional categories. Particular reference has been made (Wilson 1997) to the extent of the problem for those who in certain geographical areas are likely to remain in unemployment, under-employment or semi-employment for long periods of time, and to the highest rates of development that are theoretically possible. From the analysis of social structures there is evidence that certain elements of the labour force have left or been pushed out of the production process, or discouraged or held back as they tried to enter it. This last case applies mainly to people who are not in employment but could be, such as women and post-adolescent young people who form the bulk of those in insecure, non-registered employment, most of which is hidden. Research has made use of this data to describe (notably Gelpi 1997)

the ways in which people may be included in or excluded from training and a labour market which is ever more complicated by the links between place and type of production and the pattern of distribution at national and international level.

When work becomes more flexible, the norm of continuous work breaks down, and the direct result is an expansion of the fields in which work is discontinuous. The changes taking place in the Western economies are encouraging welcome new practices and cultures at work, and different kinds of workers may have acquired a range of choices in the various phases of their lives. However, we must recognise the difficulties in that flexible and discontinuous working, by its very nature and because of the characteristics of the present welfare system, does not guarantee the security or remuneration provided by continuous employment.

Negotiation between the social partners is hindered by the problem of rights, which extend (Rainbird 1990) from the safeguarding of income (guarantees of equal pay for 'ordinary' and 'flexible' workers, and various forms of insurance benefit in times of unemployment) to all the other forms of insurance which protect the worker indefinitely (illness, maternity, pensions, union representation – paid leave for union business and general rights and powers of representation). Flexible forms of employment for those who are highly skilled can lead to an increase in their employability, while those with little education generally find that discontinuous working leaves them unskilled, unrecognised, and deprived of opportunities for occupational development. To summarise: if we wish to discuss the relationship between training and work, we have to state clearly the nature of that work, specify the training which will benefit people in the labour market, see what conditions are required for the development of more interesting kinds of work, and identify opportunities and methods for occupational development and social progress.

6.4. The 'contextual' aspect of skills

The act of knowing, which is largely governed by mastery of language, and hence of symbolic systems, depends on the relation between knowledge and experience. Indeed, everybody grows through the progressive acquisition of knowledge which is the result of constant analysis, elaboration and interpretation of experience. This gradual construction happens when there is an increase in the quantity and quality of the information acquired, when there is greater sophistication in its processing, or when there is greater awareness of what is known and of the possibilities of developing and communicating that knowledge. The best way in which each person can achieve this is to call on general knowledge and specific skills, together with formal knowledge gained from a regular course of study and knowledge from other sources. Vocational skills in particular seem to be not the result of any training activity but rather of the grafting of work experiences on to theoretical and practical knowledge (Schwartz 1995). They are reinforced by the continual self-monitoring by the individual of his or her own resources, and develop through the use of knowledge, subject to such monitoring, in situations different from those in which it was acquired; and they are enriched by work which in its various forms is decodified, reinterpreted and reconstructed in the mind.

Vocational skills are (Meghnagi 1992) the result of a training process which can never be completed within a training institution, nor exclusively through occupational activity. It is shaped differently according to the individual person, and it is a personal resource of knowledge and skills which are adapted to deal with different circumstances at different times. The majority of people do not become skilled through an ordered sequence of programmed, organised and evaluated training periods, but rather through an erratic process in which formal instruction and work alternate, and in which widely differing cognitive resources are eventually put to use in the acquisition of skills. However, 'competency' can be defined as the possession of skills suitable for carrying out a particular task, or the ability to decide, using the requisite abilities and acquired knowledge, how to tackle a particular situation. Occupational competency ('expertise' according to the terminology used in this Department and in Ajello and Meghnagi 1998) can be described as a complex articulated combination of abilities and capacities which is the result of a conceptual and functional synthesis of theoretical aspects, linked partly to disciplinary contents and actual experience. It is the result of training which may be initial or continuing. It exists in coherent forms, and is partly affected by the organisational environment. It shows a level of sophistication which is dependent on objective reality and subjective capacity to analyse, understand and influence the environment itself, and it can develop in varying ways and places which are not necessarily designed for training.

The essential skills in any work requiring a minimum of judgement relate to 'decision-making' and 'problem-solving' in different forms and on various occupational levels. Problem-solving is the outcome of the processing of information, whether innate or acquired, which is often handled differently according to what is being dealt with. Indeed, problem-solving is often associated with problems which can only be resolved by restructuring knowledge that is partly or wholly mastered. It is no coincidence that the ability to resolve problems is often the ability to look at them in the right way, and is the result of a process of understanding and perception, of conceptualisation and re-organisation of the data. It is sometimes the product of creative action taken in response to circumstances not previously experienced. Decision-making is directly connected to the way in which problems are set and the questions which arise in consequence.

Skills are not absolute. Rather, they are dependent variables, interacting with their organisational context. They assume their own shape and form in particular environments such as the workplace, or in the productive sectors in which they are 'located'. From this perspective, skills are dependent on knowledge and abilities which function in a particular context. They assume a connection and an inter-relationship with the ways in which knowledge is used, monitored, expanded and re-structured. If this knowledge is inadequate, it is because of a lack of suitable tools for its continual indispensable re-structuring, or for its application in possible new ways in order to resolve a problem.

The construction of abilities and knowledge occurs within a process which is not limited solely to contact with reality, whether actual or symbolic, but is shaped by social interaction with others of the same level of competence, or higher, with whom matters can be discussed. A linguistic and cognitive dialogue can take place in various ways, depending on the subjects

to be discussed. This interaction is crucial in that it can encourage the potential for development inherent in everyone. It gives support to individuals in their personal lives, allows them to share their difficulties, to examine their problems socially, to make observations, to explain their points of view, to see whether others agree or not, and to build the conceptual 'scaffolding' necessary for further development. The 'social context' governs the development of knowledge in various ways and assists the collection, understanding, analysis and systematisation of experience. It also allows individuals to construct their own knowledge systems. Hence, the context of work can very well be educational.

Skills are thus not to be valued as things that stand alone, but according to how useful they are in particular contexts. They are tied to particular environments, to social and employment situations, and to the areas of production where they are 'located'. They cannot be defined globally on the basis of predetermined functions, by reference to a theoretical curriculum of training or practice. On the contrary, they should be valued positively for the knowledge and abilities which they promote. Two conditions are vital for this: there must be a participatory approach, and the distinction which is often made between social and vocational skills must be abandoned. Obviously this definition complicates any attempt at analysis based solely on abstract knowledge and abilities. It requires a rigorous examination of the nature and circumstances of the work for which the various social actors involved in training are seeking to work out the appropriate programme.

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7. Training in the context of reduced working hours

Jacques Trautmann

7.1. Introduction

My paper is based on the history of training in France and the legislation to which it has given rise. Training time is currently a very topical issue because of the lively discussions provoked by the impending requirement that employers reduce weekly working time to 35 hours. But the question of the link between training time and working time is nothing new. Thirty years ago it was the subject of negotiations between the social partners, and between them and government, namely the Ministers responsible for employment, vocational training and education, and Parliament. However, we must realise that attempts to find a balance between different uses of time presupposes that training is conceived as a discrete activity identifiable in terms of the time that is devoted to it.

It is impossible to talk about the time available for training the active population, i.e. those in the labour market (either employed or unemployed), or in other words, about the time which training takes away from their other activities, without considering working time, which is this population's central activity. In this respect, time appears to be a relevant indicator of the social value accorded to an activity, in this case, training: both time in terms of duration (much or little time being devoted to it), time in terms of the choice from among possible times – what we may call social timing – and time in terms of the cost caused by interference with working time, which will be governed by the other two aspects,

Training is a generic term. It is an activity that was referred to in the 1970s as adult education, continuing vocational training, social advancement, popular education, lifelong education, recurrent education, etc., and its aims generally relate to work: work done or work aspired to, in the hope of occupational advancement. Hence, many people consider that the training of the active population should be carried out during working time, which is broadly the view taken by the trade unions. In France, therefore, where the field of training is strictly governed by legislation (the right to training, and the obligation to provide training), the amount of time devoted to it is a key factor.

What should be the balance between working time, which continues to determine the structure of social time as a whole, and training time, especially if this is understood to include all aspects of education and training? The way in which this question is answered has changed greatly since the 1960s, largely because of the increasing trend towards reduced working hours, and because the agreements reached have not proved sustainable.

The first observation that I would like to make here is that the negotiations that led to the 1971 Act treated training time as a reduction in working time. That being so, it is logical that the demand for a major cut in working hours calls into question the principle that training should be given during working time.

My second observation is that the increased significance given by employers to training their employees has usually led them to try to manage more efficiently the time which employees spend in training, to want to check how it is used, and even to attempt to shed responsibility for some of the time taken by long-term courses.

My third observation concerns, by contrast with the first two points, the place of training in non-working time, principally in leisure time, but also in time spent in unemployment.

In this context, will the reduction in working hours lead to training time being shifted from working time to leisure time? In my third point I shall stress the limits to this displacement of training time, and the inescapable need for a new agreement to be negotiated between the social partners.

And finally, I shall look at the implications of a possible shift of training to leisure time, a shift that cannot be expected to happen spontaneously. This is a field of public action which I think is important. However, which government still does not seem to have taken cognisance of it, especially the regional bodies which are now responsible for the question, education and training being one of the decentralised responsibilities which the state has devolved on to them.

7.2. The right to training leave

It was thought in the 1950s and 1960s that it was right to allot training time to working time, i.e., to grant training leave; this led to the 1971 Vocational Training Act, within the concept of lifelong education. The term 'training leave' first appeared in the form of workers' training leave (in the 1957 Act), which meant training time spent on trade union business, and in that of leave for the training of youth workers (1961) ([25]). It acquired its true importance with the 1971 Act, which gave general effect to the inter-industry agreement of 1970. The emergence of the French notion of a right to training must therefore be seen as a right to claim the time to be devoted to training.

The only thing I shall say about the basic agreement between the social partners of 1970 is that it laid down the principle of the lawfulness of absence from work for training purposes (the word 'leave' not being mentioned), and that it set quantitative goals for the number of hours of absence from work in enterprises which were to be devoted to training. It should also be pointed out that no distinction was made between training pursued at the instigation of the

([25]) In the mid-1950s, a number of proposals for legislation were laid before Parliament to institute educational leave. See Palazzeschi, Y. *Introduction à une sociologie de la formation, Anthologie de textes français*, L'Harmattan, 1998.

employee and that imposed by the employer. This obviously derived from a perception of training as consisting essentially of one-off or extended courses outside the place of work. This ambiguity, which lumped together the possibility for employees to absent themselves while being paid in order to take a course of their choice, whether vocational or not, and the potential obligation on them to take part in a retraining or updating course for the purpose of their work, made it possible for the agreement to be signed on the basis that any education or training was definitively in the interest of both the employee and the enterprise.

Subsequently, in actual practice, it was left to employers either to arrange training serving the interests of their enterprise for all or part of the number of hours to be devoted to training, or to leave employees to use these as they saw fit. The key thing to be borne in mind here is that training that was useful for work, or even indispensable, was regarded as a reduction in working time.

It was not until 1982 that a clear distinction was made between time for training that was pursued at the instigation of the employee, and which deserved to be regarded truly as leave, and time for training arranged by the employer as part of an enterprise training scheme ([26]). The agreement between the social partners which created individual training leave, enshrined in legislation in 1984, now clearly recognised a right to a reduction in working time, over a given period, in order to pursue education or training for anything up to 1200 hours, while still being paid. That does not mean, however, that time spent in training under a training scheme was regarded as working time. Both employers and employees still perceived training time which was necessary to the enterprise as absence from work.

It should be pointed out as well that this right to training leave, to time for education and training to be taken out of working time, was a principle that was applied infrequently in practice: even in the best years, there were no more than 34 000 beneficiaries of individual training leave (in 1994) ([27]), compared with the more than 3 million employees trained under enterprise training schemes. It is nonetheless the case that time spent on education and training, whatever its purpose, is generally perceived in France as belonging to working time. This is reflected in several ways: firstly, new forms of training leave have been created for special purposes, though these are not always paid (sabbatical leave, examination leave, skills assessment leave, and leave for elected politicians, voluntary firefighters, and so on); secondly, there is no research into the education and training courses pursued outside working time; all that is known is that the funds devoted by the Regional Councils to 'social advancement' courses have fallen sharply.

([26]) The need to make such a distinction arose in 1974 out of a ruling by the Council of State. It took another 8 years before the social partners reached a new agreement: Guilloux, P. *Le congé individuel de formation*. L'Harmattan. 1998.

([27]) This figure fell to less than 25 000 in 1996: cf. the vocational training annexes to drafts of the Finance Act.

7.3. The management of training time

From the point of view of the internal organisation of an enterprise, is it necessary to devote some working time to the training of employees, or do employers do so because they have to comply with the obligations imposed on them? Some enterprises, notably large companies, did not wait for the 1971 Act before realising that training was one of the tools necessary for the management of their human resources. But the majority only took an interest once they found themselves obliged to apply the regulation introducing so-called compulsory participation in further training, which imposed on them a minimum expenditure on training, initially 0.8 % of the total wages and salaries bill, a figure that has now risen to 1.5 %. In practice, the average level of this expenditure by all enterprises with more than 10 employees is more than double the legal minimum. This reflects the fact that most of them have come to realise that such expenditure meets what is primarily an internal need.

There are other externally imposed obligations, particularly of two types. One of these results from negotiations between the social partners, sometimes at enterprise level, and more often at industry or inter-industry level. It may be agreed, for example, that priority should be given to the training of untrained staff, as can be seen in agreements on overall training time. Another example is the agreements on day or block release training courses, which oblige enterprises to contribute to their funding, although not necessarily to accept young people with such contracts. In this respect, the rate at which credits collected under this system are used may provide an indication of the willingness of enterprises to incorporate this type of training into their activities, and hence into collective working time, or to leave it up to other employers to do so.

The second type of constraint is legal, since judges may find that dismissal is unlawful if it follows a change of position which is not accompanied by training to enable an employee to fulfil his or her new duties, and they may now base such findings on a ruling by the Court de Cassation (the French Supreme Court). Training such as this, for which the employer is responsible, can obviously only take place within working time.

It should nonetheless be pointed out that training can take many forms within an enterprise. Curiously, the 1971 Act did not lay down any target or threshold number of working hours to be devoted to training, while the inter-industry agreement on which it was based had set a threshold of 1 % of the working time of all wage-earners (and 2 % of management staff). The development of workplace training, where this incurs costs, particularly for the payment of trainers and tutors, provides plenty of examples, especially in small enterprises, in which it is impossible to distinguish between training time and working time. Nonetheless, the annual estimates drawn up by the Ministry of Labour show that the number of training hours in enterprises remains high and is not declining.

On the other hand, the average duration of training courses has fallen from 60 hours in the 1980s to less than 40 hours, obviously reflecting a desire to control more rigorously the proportion of working time allotted to training. This same trend of a reduction in the time allotted to training can be seen in the introduction of a training time pool under a 1993 Act. For our purposes it is enough to say that this measure allows half the funds set aside for

individual training leave to be covered out of a training scheme, under certain conditions, with a consequent substantial drop in the duration of training courses.

The most remarkable current development in the management of training time is, however, what can be called the notion of co-investment. By this is meant an agreement between an employer and an employee that a training course paid for by the enterprise should take place partly in the employee's leisure time. A 1991 Act laid down the framework for this. This principle has not been widely applied to date, but the 35-hour Act will henceforth provide further encouragement for its wider use. It can be seen, in fact, that some industry and enterprise agreements have explicitly incorporated it: as a counterpart to the reduction in working time, some leisure time may be devoted to training paid for by the enterprise. But it is still too early to assess actual application.

7.4. Training out of working hours

As a result of the heavy emphasis in France on the right to training during working time, there appears to be less interest in education and training during leisure time than in other countries in the European Union. Some commentators see this as the result of irresistible social developments. D. Mothé, for example, states that 'nobody has forced anyone. Simply, in order to fill their free time, employees have chosen products which entertain them and allow them to them dream rather than products which increase their knowledge and give them the desire to take part in creative activities of a cultural or political nature, or in debates on major philosophical questions' ([28]). More optimistically, N. Terrot estimates that around 500 000 people have enrolled in so-called 'social advancement' courses, generally evening courses, at the CNAM, at schools, colleges and universities, at the National Distance Education Centre, and in centres preparing candidates for civil service examinations. He adds to this figure between 3 000 and 4 000 adult students enrolled in regular university courses ([29]). But in the absence of exact research, this number of enrolments may be overestimated.

I shall limit myself to remarking that training provided in response to individual demand is regarded as uneconomic; training organisations prefer to seek funding for their activities from private companies and public institutions, while the latter are progressively refusing to pay for education and training aiming at social advancement or general culture. The Regional Councils, which have responsibility in this field, seem inclined to forget that there can be no demand for training in leisure time unless there is a supply of training to guide and structure such demand.

It must be acknowledged that the state and the Regional Councils have had a different priority for twenty years, namely the fight against unemployment, particularly among young people. The public supply of training in this area, which is generally provided by private bodies using public funding, has been and remains quite large. But in this case, it is not so much a question of encouraging training in leisure time but rather of finding ways to fill empty time under the guise of

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([28]) Daniel Mothé. *Le temps libre contre la société*. Desclée de Brouwer, 1999, p. 50.

([29]) Noël Terrot. *Histoire de l'éducation des adultes en France*, L'Harmattan, 1997, p. 320.

employment promotion measures. It may also be thought that some these training schemes, by meeting employer's requirements for trained potential recruits, allow enterprises to avoid taking responsibility for some of their training needs. It should be noted also that a person seeking work who attends a training course risks losing unemployment benefit unless the course is approved by government, and such approval is only given if the course is aimed at finding a job.

While public funds for training are thus focused on the unemployed, it should be added that they do not benefit those who are in between unemployment and employment, occupying fixed-term temporary or part-time jobs. Although they may be assumed to have more leisure time than other workers, such people have no opportunities to train because there are very few ways of covering the costs of training, and existing provision is poorly suited to their flexible hours and chance periods in and out of work.

Hence, where the general reduction in working time to be introduced by the 35-hour week is accompanied by more flexible patterns of work, there can be little hope for an expansion in education and training during leisure time, especially if government persists in denying it funding.

7.5. Limitations to the shift from training in working time to training in non-working time

The general trend towards rationalisation of the costs of training on the part of enterprises, and hence particularly towards tighter control of the working time allotted to training, takes very different forms, and the 35-hour legislation can only accelerate this process. Above all it will oblige the social partners in an enterprise to negotiate on what they regard as actual work. It is not only break times that are at issue, but anything which is not directly productive work: preparation time, repair of breakdowns, etc. From this point of view, training, even where imposed by management, represents non-productive work. Training time may no longer be regarded as absence from work, but it is part of the time where savings have to be made.

Perhaps the solution may be to negotiate a compromise whereby training time is taken from employees' leisure time. However, that idea could only apply to some forms of training and could not be envisaged as a general principle. By its nature, workplace training could not be included. It seems equally questionable to suppose that short compulsory training courses could be taken outside working hours, this time for legal reasons. In the case of courses training newly appointed persons to carry out their jobs or supporting technical or organisational changes, an objection by an employee must necessarily lead to the finding that such training time is actual working time in terms of the right to work since the employee is obliged to undergo it.

On the other hand, in at least some enterprises, especially major companies, some of the activities carried out under a training scheme are provided on the basis that employees may enrol if they wish. This is particularly the case with activities pursued under the aegis of the training time pool. In such cases, it may well be that an enterprise agreement will lay down rules by which all or some courses take place in the time freed by the reduction in working hours. In the 35-hour agreements reached by Danone, Renault and Peugeot, training credits

are to be given to employees, giving them access to training courses organised and funded by the enterprise but pursued in their leisure time.

This does not, however, mean that an employer can require its employees to acquire new skills by making their own arrangements to pursue the necessary training during their leisure time ([30]). Trade unions and works councils would necessarily oppose such a suggestion, which would eventually deprive workers of any right of negotiation on an enterprise's training policy ([31]). It can thus be seen that the opportunities for shifting training time to outside working hours are still distinctly limited.

One question remains in relation to the link between working time and training time, namely the legitimacy of absence from work for the purpose of training. Can the reduction in working time justify the abandonment of the principle of training leave, whether individual training leave, sabbatical leave, or leave for special purposes? This is a real danger, given the considerable decline in the funding of individual training leave. Even if these forms of leave only concern a minority of employees, they constitute rights for workers, and to call them into question would be a definite step backwards, an abdication on the part of government.

7.6. Policy for training in leisure time

We certainly have to beware of the temptations which there may be to shift training from working time to leisure time. But it would be just as foolish to reject such a shift out of hand – provided that employers continue to accept responsibility for improving the skills of their employees, particularly by funding training, abide by the rule that such training should be voluntary, and recognise the role of representative staff bodies in deciding on the direction and implementation of their training schemes.

However, the increase in leisure time among the active population, because of the general introduction of the 35-hour week and an expansion in voluntary part-time working, is not just another opportunity for employers to find new ways of controlling their employees' training time. It also presents a challenge to government's proclaimed intention of promoting learning throughout life.

The reasons why the active population seeks training, which vary according to people's occupational circumstances, the stage they have reached in their careers, their age and their participation in social life, deserve to be examined more closely and better known if their

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([30]) Jean-Marie Luttringer remarks that if employers shift training outside actual working time, they will notice that 'shifting training into the sphere of private life will take away their power to control training, which is an essential element of the ability to manage '. In *Négocier de nouveaux équilibres entre temps de travail et temps de formation.* Pour, No 162, June 1999, p. 198.

([31]) Luttringer, Jean-Marie. 'If training is shifted into the private sphere, it will escape collective bargaining and hence the influence of the trade unions. If it remains within the sphere of work, even if its costs are reduced, it will remain subject to collective bargaining. Its nature and legal safeguards will differ from those of actual work, although it will remain in the same sphere. Training will become a kind of sub-system of work, providing benefits like unemployment or health insurance and not paid for by employees ', ibidem.

needs and aspirations are to be met. This is too vast a subject to be explored here, but let us say simply that training appears useful and desirable for any activity. This means both that it may extend beyond the occupational field, and that this will remain the chief concern where work is the principal social activity. We like to think today that training for occupational purposes should be seen as part of employment and that it is essentially the responsibility of employers. In so doing we forget that vocational training aspirations may go well beyond the training imposed or provided within a given enterprise.

Can we, then, rely on the responsibility and perspicacity of the individual so that a demand for training is created to which the market will respond by eventually making appropriate provision? Demand for training does not generally precede supply; on the contrary, it usually needs to be structured and expressed through supply. Central and decentralised government thus has a responsibility for organising, selecting and developing – and hence also for funding – training schemes which are submitted to it. Above all, it is the job of government to foster new forms of training which take into account the problems of balancing individuals' time which arise especially from the increased variety and flexibility of working hours. What makes training attractive and valuable is not only its subject matter and purpose but also its accessibility, which must take account of constraints of time.

To sum up, among the significant changes which have altered the context of adult education and training over the last 30 years in France, and which have therefore influenced how these are perceived, the reduction in working time has not had a noticeable effect until now. But the prospect of an imminent sizeable reduction makes us realise the changes that have taken place in the way in which training time is managed. The idea that training time in itself amounts to a reduction in working time is now a thing of the past. Employers' main concern today is to make savings in training time, to reduce its impact on working time, to make individual courses shorter, and perhaps to offer them to more employees.

The anticipated effect of a reduction in working hours and the way in which this will be implemented in enterprises does not suggest, however, that it will be easy to shift the bulk of training time on to leisure time. But this does lead one to wonder what investment could be made in non-working time to encourage new developments in adult education and training. These should no longer take place within working hours, even though it is still possible to make training within enterprises more efficient and to achieve greater equity in the range of employees who benefit from it. But any expansion in training time will not occur spontaneously through the interplay of supply and demand in the leisure market. This is the political challenge facing both government and the social partners.

Since the publication of the White Paper on vocational training ([32]) by Nicole Péry, the Secretary of State responsible for vocational training, discussion seems to be focusing more on the issue of redefining a right to benefit from training and to have access to it throughout life. Little account is taken of the need to balance training time and working time within overall social time.

([32]) La Formation professionnelle: diagnostics, défis et enjeux, Secrétariat d'État aux droits des femmes et à la formation professionnelle, March 1999.

8. The future of the relationship between working time and learning time

Klaus Schedler

8.1. Allotting time to learning when time itself is limited

In everyday parlance, leisure time is regarded as the counterpart to working time, and when notions such as training time and learning time arise, we find ourselves facing the associated question of how we can accommodate these extra activities in what is naturally a limited amount of time.

Traditionally, a day is divided into three parts, so that approximately 8 hours are used for paid work, 8 hours for leisure activities or unpaid work, and 8 hours for sleep. Since the day only has 24 hours, and previous facetious efforts to slow down or extend time have met with little success, the question inevitably arises as to which of these is to suffer in the interest of learning.

Furthermore, since the attempts of numerous psychologists to make it possible to learn while sleeping have not produced convincing results, the question comes down to whether working time or leisure time is the right place for learning.

At present, the situation looks like this. If a person who is not self-employed attends a course, he or she expects the employer to provide support where participation in the course is in the interest of the enterprise. Under such an arrangement, it will only be a few specialised occupational groups who can expect their employers to grant them free time to attend a sailing course, while the outcome will probably be totally different in the case of computer courses, because that sort of training accords with the employer's staff development plans.

In practice, however, education and training courses can take so many mixed forms, and can be interpreted is so many different ways, from 'business-related' to 'personal interest', that it is at best very difficult to deduce any hard and fast rules for the granting of free time for training.

Moreover, reductions in working hours in recent decades mean that it might be fairer to take learning time out of leisure time than to encroach on what is already shorter working time. We know from experience, however, how contentious such a proposal is in negotiations between the social partners, and I have the impression that we are tending at this seminar to spend too much time rehearsing the familiar current arguments about education and training policy, which are already well known from the statements of the social partners at national and European level.

I fear, therefore, that we shall not arrive at answers for the future if we merely 'go over the same old ground' in talking about the relationship between learning time and working or leisure time.

8.2. The distinction between working time and leisure time in tomorrow's world of work

I chose quite intentionally to begin discussing the question of allotting time to learning with the example of a person who is not self-employed, in order to show how quickly we fall into conventional ways of thinking about education and training policy. But if we consider the case of people who are running their own businesses and seek further training, these current criteria look inadequate. The clear distinction between working time and leisure time, which is even enshrined in legislation for most employees, itself becomes meaningless, and the question whether a course takes place during working time or leisure time may be greeted with incomprehension.

We have to realise that the division between working time and leisure time is a relatively modern invention of our culture, since most of our ancestors unquestionably worked on the land. For them, it was Sundays that generally marked the passing of time, and the concept of 'leisure time' would have been meaningless.

The notion of working time does not appear until individuals make 'their' time available to others for the fulfilment of some form of work, thereby giving up their right to manage their own time for a certain number of hours. 'Leisure time' is thus not the time in which one is simply not working, but the time doing what one regards as useful oneself.

If we attempt to project into the future world of work the traditional division between the employer, who buys working time, and the employee, who sells it, we soon begin to doubt whether the conventionally used definitions will still apply in coming decades. Concepts such as 'new self-employment', 'service-provider contracts' and 'franchises', even 'undeclared earnings', mean that it will be increasingly difficult in future to make a legal distinction between employers and employees.

Although these may as yet be 'untypical employment contracts', it cannot be ruled out (and it may well be likely) that such forms of employment will become the rule rather than the exception in future.

Given the breakdown in the fixed division between employers and employees that is thus already taking place, it follows that it is doubtful whether the customary distinction between working time and leisure time will apply in the future either. As a result, the question of allotting time to learning must be looked at differently.

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8.3. The origins of the distinction between the world of learning and the world of work

Let us step back a few paces to consider what learning actually means. The Earth has been in existence for around 4½ billion years, and primitive life forms developed less than 1 billion years ago. Human beings have only played some part in this evolution for some 2½ million years but they stand, as it were, on the shoulders of earlier so-called intelligent life forms. This suggests that early life forms were capable of learning to the extent that the creatures then living became adept at dealing with the world in particularly effective ways.

Seen in that light, learning is as much a fundamental part of living as movement, feeding and sexuality. For the vast majority of people, such learning used to take place through family socialisation and was an integral part of life. It was so self-evident that there was not even a need for a word to describe it.

It was comparatively recently that this type of socialisation proved to be no longer adequate, and that the first true forms of education came into being. I am thinking less of the teacher-pupil relationship (which ceased to be the exclusive privilege of a minority only 2 or 3 hundred years ago) but of atavistic forms of occupational instruction, which originated in agricultural practices and were then taken up in early crafts.

Despite the further development of these forms of instruction, this basic principle of integrating instruction and gainful employment has been preserved right up to the present in the form of apprenticeship training.

It is probably no accident that it is only in the last 150 years, in the wake of the industrial revolution, that a specialised form of occupational training developed which was independent and divorced from production, when it became impossible to maintain the original integration of learning and working with the advent of a Tayloristic division of labour. For as long as this division of labour remained the main principle governing work, formal training of this nature proved very effective.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that it was not until the mid-19th century that the state made any serious attempts to regulate vocational training. Such attempts were probably necessary because, as training became separated from productive employment, the factors ensuring the practical relevance of what was taught and the quality of vocational teaching were also lost.

If it is evident that the notion of industrial division of labour is today increasingly incapable of meeting the demands of technical and economic developments, and that contemporary ways of organising work aim to restore the link between occupational tasks and areas of responsibility, the question arises whether the division between working and learning may not also be reversed in future, like that between working time and leisure time.

I do not doubt that formal vocational preparation in schools will continue to be indispensable in future for entry into employment, even though it may have started in the wake of the industrial revolution simply to 'prop up' occupational socialisation. Indeed, I regard the current efforts by many EU states and the initiatives of the EU Commission to strengthen cooperation between employers and educational establishments as pointing the way ahead, so that learning and work can finally grow back together in future.

When people look back in 100 years, when we are no longer around, they will perhaps be able to say that the creation of specialist institutions of vocational training was a historical episode that lasted no more than a couple of centuries, a period when it was temporarily necessary to separate the worlds of learning and work, before they were seen once more as a single, cohesive world of living.

8.4. The effect of structural arrangements on the value of training

If we thus try to adopt a holistic view, we see learning to be an essential expression of life and hence a fundamental, integral part of all we do, whether we are talking about working time or leisure time.

Hence, given the distinction between places of learning and places of work that still exists in practice, there must be a greater effort to rediscover opportunities for learning at the workplace for the purposes of vocational training.

Let me use the following examples, however, to demonstrate that such a strategy not only cannot solve every problem but is also ineffective unless the conditions under which work is organised are right.

Thirty or forty years ago there was still a coal mining industry in Austria, which faced an economic crisis as a result of competition from more cost-effective mining methods and the export subsidies given by foreign countries, and eventually had to be closed down. This turn of events could be foreseen by both management and miners, and all attempts to develop more efficient methods of mining not only failed to prevent the decline but appeared indeed to hasten it, because the nub of the problem was that the quantity of recoverable coal was no longer economically worthwhile. The Austrian miners were no less well trained than their foreign counterparts, and anyone who believes that training could have saved the mining industry is closing their eyes to the facts.

Another, less dramatic, example is offered by the printing industry, in which conventional methods of typesetting were replaced some twenty years ago by computerised photocomposition. In almost all countries, this caused great tensions between management and workers, who found themselves confronted with the new technology almost overnight. Clearly, the workers were insufficiently aware of the problem, because the majority of them

had had no practical experience of the new techniques right up to the change-over. Mass production in bulk printing works was not conducive to the gradual introduction of CAT because it made no sense to print the first few pages of a newspaper using conventional methods, and the rest using new technology.

Just such a gradual change in production methods took place in manufacturing, however. When I first visited a factory floor many years ago, I could already see a jumble of machines: many conventional, some semi-automated and a few fully automated, the latter only being usable at that time for mass production. A few years later, there were already NC machines, and workers proudly showed off the new processing centre, which was naturally also computer-controlled and could even be used for small runs. Any worker who understood his or her job could see what technical advantages these machines offered in processing, and it was also evident on the factory floor that staff who did not update their skills through training in order to keep pace with the challenge of the new technology would in the foreseeable future no longer be able to make much of a contribution to the success of the enterprise.

Alongside technical changes, the manner in which an enterprise is organised also clearly plays a crucial role in raising staff awareness of new challenges at the workplace and in motivating workers to pursue further training.

Consequently, contemporary work-based continuing training schemes aim to create the necessary conditions for learning at the workplace.

8.5. The contribution of information and communications technology to breaking down the traditional boundaries between learning and work, and the time allotted to each

The use of the new media in vocational training can provide considerable support. Examples of in-company product training in certain branches of insurance, and the training of dealers when a new model of automobile is introduced, show impressive results in terms of economic use of time to reach almost all target persons in a company or within a dealership simultaneously.

The aims of such applications of computer-based technology (CBT) often go beyond conveying knowledge and skills. Many companies which maintain an Intranet keep their staff informed about medium-term planning strategies, open discussion forums on current challenges, and launch exchanges of ideas on how to encourage potential innovations within the company.

The foreseeable further development of CBT applications indicates that the freeing of further training from the constraints of a fixed time and place is not only possible but is intended by both providers of training and consumers. It is obvious that wherever PCs are standard equipment at the workplace, it will not be possible in the medium term to retain the strict

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division between learning and work, any more than that between learning time and working time.

At the same time we see that PCs have found their way into many private households and that a whole range of occupational activities can be carried out from home. 'Workaholics' no longer take unfinished work home but do it all at home on a PC, which make access widely possible via the Internet to CBT applications.

We should therefore be prepared for a time when, in the wake of information technology applications, the traditional boundaries between learning and working become blurred and a dividing line between leisure time and working time becomes increasingly difficult to draw.

If, then – as I said at the beginning – we allow ourselves to be guided too much by everyday political considerations in our home countries when discussing the theme of 'working time and training time', we shall be in danger of ending up talking about the usual clashes of political interests over reductions in working hours, educational leave, etc. We are all, of course, more or less 'prisoners of our convictions', but we should nonetheless beware of talking about allotting time to work and training if it is evident that this rigid distinction is rapidly losing its meaning in the light of current changes in the world of work.

8.6. From the de-individualisation of learning to organisational learning

Let me explore one other aspect of current changes. We think conventionally of learning as an individual process, and it is therefore only natural that the terms 'learning time' and 'working time' are tied to the individual: employees are contractually obliged to make a set proportion of their time available to an enterprise, and the more their skills develop, the greater will be their expectations for their occupational career.

As a result of the expansion in education and training in recent decades, we must realise that it is not enough for individuals to pile up knowledge, skills and abilities if the level of training that they achieve does not match the requirements of the world of work. Although today's young people have a higher level of formal education than preceding generations, it has become far more difficult for them to find their place in the world of work.

The expression 'level of formal education' used in this context itself suggests that education and training are not automatically reflected 1:1 in skills, and that individual education and training goals cannot therefore necessarily be converted into career expectations.

From the point of view of skills, the individual learner is in fact ceasing to be the focus of attention. It is certainly still the individual worker who acquires the training, but when we speak of the level of competence of a work team, a department or a company, we are not thinking so much of the sum total of knowledge and experience of the individuals concerned;

the level that is actually relevant for commercial success is rather the easy interplay between all members of the organisation.

We need to realise therefore that the traditional concepts of vocational instruction continue to focus exclusively on the individual learner, whose learning activities are guided by personal goals. If we enquire into the pattern of skills in a department, we generally learn a great deal about the level of formal education and training among the individuals (such as the proportion of academics, the number of qualified engineers, etc.), but very little about how the team works together and how redundancies are avoided.

And yet it is precisely this interplay between members of a team that is actually the relevant factor in the achievement of an enterprise's economic goals. It is rather like the pieces in a mosaic: every piece has to be made not only for its own sake but also so that all the individual pieces amount to a coherent whole.

In future, therefore, it will no longer be enough to rely on the initiative of individual workers and their willingness to take further training in order to develop competency; the collective learning process will also need to be externally managed in order to ensure that further training activities as a whole meet the overall learning goals of an enterprise.

This matching process can really only be successful if working and learning grow together and there is no longer a need to distinguish subjectively between learning and working. When this stage has been reached, it will be possible to dismiss with a shake of the head the question whether training should take place during working time or leisure time.

8.7. From organisational learning to education and training policy

I am sure that you are familiar with slogans such as 'organisational learning' and 'knowledge management' and will therefore know why further training is concerned not only with 'explicit knowledge' (that is, anything that can be looked up somewhere) but also with 'tacit knowledge'. This expression brings us closer to what has already been called 'knowledge networking', 'experiential knowledge', 'implementation knowledge' and 'social skills' in this seminar.

Knowledge of this sort can, however, only be acquired to a limited degree outside the world of work, and 'soft skills' at work can only be encouraged as intended by enterprises with up-to-date structures, flat hierarchies and decentralised decision-making.

We realise at this juncture that successful training will in future not only be tied to the individual but also have implications ultimately for way in which an enterprise is structured, so that this is enabled, as a learning organisation, to respond to ongoing changes in commercial competition.

At present we still know relatively little in fact about the meta-level of learning organisations, and far less about learning regions or national economies. We can gain an insight into what matters, however, from the example of a modern industrial development area. The facilities erected there keep pace with nearly every development and current changes in the economic climate are clearly reflected. Office space expands at the expense of production areas; companies change their names because they combine with others to form larger organisational units; other companies cease trading, and their sites are adapted by their successors to suit their new purposes, and so on. But what is most surprising is that the area as a whole retains its function as a place of work for people.

We can assume that the changes to facilities which we have described are managed according to the economic 'rules of the game'. Ideas are only just starting to be developed, however, which will make it possible to optimise human resources and to make them more flexible, going beyond the individual or the individual enterprise.

As a consequence, there is concern about the extent of structural unemployment in many countries of the EU, and there is a growing suspicion that many current problems in labour market policy are the result of 'friction losses' because we are still concentrating too much on the individual and are neglecting systemic approaches to finding solutions.

8.8. Learning as an evolutionary concept

If I were to try to sum up, to depict the situation visually, I should use the image of evolution. In the history of evolution, what was crucial at first for the survival and further success of a species was how well it adapted to the environment. If the environment changed, through climatic variation for example, certain species died out. By comparison with the variety of species of all living beings that have lived on Earth to date, the number of species currently in existence is quite small. Many species such as tortoises and crocodiles have preserved their original genetic make-up to the present day because their ecological niches have essentially remained the same. Dinosaurs and mammoths, on the other hand, died out long ago not because they were less well adapted to their environments but because their environments changed while their speed of evolution did not keep pace with climatic shifts.

This shortcoming benefited the evolution of other species, however, whose adaptation to their habitat was determined not only by their genetic make-up but also by the ability to adapt actively to changing living conditions – an ability usually called 'learning' which is in evolutionary terms a recent development. The latest evolutionary 'trick' is the tradition of passing on to subsequent generations what has been learnt by a given individual – a phenomenon which has so far only been observed in primates.

Vocational competency is no different. Many vocational skills, such as making a hand-axe, which were once important, have disappeared like the dinosaurs, but some fundamentally

ancient skills are still found today in, say, pottery and jewellery-making, and have been preserved in many niches of the economy – rather like tortoises and crocodiles.

If a skill is to be preserved in the long term, what matters is not just its static adaptation to economic conditions, but also its suitability for survival under changed technological and economic circumstances. Seen from that point of view, the skills of a typesetter, a steel smelter or a miner are 'extinct', at least in these latitudes.

Like the genetic make-up of a species, it was for a long time only initial vocational training that determined an individual's career, and there was no need for this to change since the technological and economic circumstances were themselves changing only extremely slowly.

Today, however, we are living at a time of dramatic change and therefore require concepts which will enable us to update the skills we acquire during initial vocational training in order to keep pace with ongoing changes in the labour market. Lifelong learning is in essence a promising idea since it allows us to manage continuing updating of skills in a flexible manner. We should therefore take care not to let this concept become fixed in dirigiste, legally binding prescriptions based on conventional thinking; we should avoid concluding that in drawing up such regulations we have done enough to ensure dynamically changing skills in the future.

9. Working time, education time and social capital

Tom Schuller

9.1. Introduction

An agora is a marketplace – for ideas, as for other things. In the later parts of this paper I want to explore the relevance of the notion of social capital to the theme of working time and training time. I ask how far 'social capital' is helpful to an analysis of the theme. But I begin with some more pragmatic comments on learning environments. These derive from the position that time cannot be treated solely as a quantitative entity, divisible into days, hours and minutes.

Time is inextricably woven into the social fabric of our lives, in private and public spheres. In particular, it does not make sense to treat individual timetables as if they exist independently of the work or domestic context in which the individual lives. Adding up hours of work, or monitoring the number of hours spent in training, has limited value. Any individual's pattern of time is tied into that of colleagues at work, or other members of his or her household. This is a very obvious point; and yet it is often overlooked in the analysis of work and training times. The inclusion of *social* time in the Agora's agenda is therefore very welcome.

9.2. Learning environments

First, some comment on the scope of 'learning'. Increasingly, the policy debate on lifelong learning is recognising the fact that learning takes place on many different contexts, and that measuring learning cannot be done solely by looking at how many people take part in formally organised training courses, nor at how much is spent on activities formally designated at training. As Frank Coffield observes:

'If all learning were to be represented by an iceberg, then the section above the surface of the water would be sufficient to cover formal learning, but the submerged two thirds of the structure would be needed to convey the much greater importance of informal learning.....There is a strong tendency for policy-makers, researchers and practitioners to admit readily the importance of informal learning and them proceed to develop policy, theory and practice without further reference to it.' (Coffield 2000, pp. 1-2).

There are several implications:

(a) The work environment is a crucial influence on people's opportunities to learn. Working in an environment which operates on Taylorist principles, with high division of labour

and low levels of autonomy, will deter most people from learning, at least in the conventional sense (though they may very well learn how to establish some measure of autonomy in spite of the work organisation, and how to subvert the imposed framework). However many courses they are sent on, if the actual job is repetitive and narrow, learning is unlikely to take place. Conversely, working in a challenging but supportive environment means that positive learning is happening all the time, embedded in the job. This may be in the physical nature of the job – for example through interaction with technical equipment, or through the social system at work, for example where effective coaching or mentoring schemes are in operation, so that the employee receives continual constructive feedback on their performance.

There is a general assumption that contemporary workplaces are more demanding, with the disappearance of enormous factories and long assembly-lines. But this is a generalisation, albeit broadly supported by most of the research evidence. There remain many sectors and workplaces where Taylorist principles apply, in some cases where new technologies allow very tight managerial control, and in other cases where skill levels are simply low. For example, security guarding is one of the fastest growing employment sectors at present, and most of the work is by anyone's definition tedious and low-skilled – as well, often, as demanding very long hours. As a recent OECD report observes: 'Realistically, not everyone will be able to enjoy 'skills-rich' work environments; it is even more important, therefore, that the very wide range of community, voluntary, personal, cultural and family activities are given very high priority.' (OECD 1999 p. 23).

(b) Learning can be organised and structured, without this forming part of a training course as such. There is also the question of how far learning is recognised and rewarded. This can be expressed in terms of the following tensions:

(i) On the one hand, there is pressure for knowledge and skills to be certificated, given official recognition in one way or another. This allows people who have gained experience but not necessarily qualifications to have their experience counted, which will generally be advantageous. On the other hand, the process of recognition can be expensive, and the ever-increasing chase for formal qualifications is given extra impetus.

(ii) On the one hand, training policies will only succeed where achievement is rewarded. People's motivation to learn is reduced is there is no evident payback, (though this does not have to be financial reward). On the other hand, tying training too closely to rewards will make for excessive rigidities, and will increase purely instrumental views of learning.

A learning environment is one which encourages, recognises and rewards learning, without reducing this to a mechanical operation. This is where trust and norms come in, and hence social capital. If trust levels are high enough, there will not need to be immediate rewards for training, because the expectation is there that rewards will come in due course. The most effective motivator is probably the normative environment; in other words, where the general expectation exists that people take

part in learning and commit themselves to it, rather than where they have to be offered specific rewards in order to take part.

(c) Trust and norms also enter into the discussion of who should bear the costs of learning, including the time costs. The conventional expectation is that the employer should bear the costs of job-related training, and the individual those of personal development. However this distinction can become very blurred, especially in a context where flexibility and 'learning to learn' are regarded as key competences. Major initiatives exist which involve the employer in paying for learning which is certainly not related to the individual's job; the economic arguments in favour of this include lower labour turnover and greater employee commitment, but also a greater readiness on the part of individuals to deploy their intellectual abilities more actively, in work and outside. The more narrowly an employer sets the limits on what they are willing to finance, the less such benefits will accrue.

On the other hand, this line of argument cannot be used simply to dismiss all distinctions between job-related and other training as irrelevant. The issue of how costs are to be shared, between employers, employees and the state remains highly relevant. One example are the recently introduced Individual Learning Accounts in the UK. The individual triggers a GBP 150 learning grant from the state by paying GBP 25 of their own money into the account; the hope is that employers will also come to contribute to these accounts, in a variety of arrangements. (ILAs are just being piloted now, and it will undoubtedly take time before they have an impact on employer norms.)

It is almost certain that a diversity of arrangements will prevail, even where, as in France, there is a strong national legislative framework surrounding expenditure on training. Most recently, Norway has supplemented governmental exhortations to employers to raise their commitment to lifelong learning with a declared expectation that the social partners will build in a trade off between increased wages and time off for flexible skills training (OECD 1999, p. 118).

One central axis will be the various combinations of time and money which will operate in different contexts. For example, in some capital-intensive industries relatively few employees will be given time off work for training, because of the need to make intensive use of plant, but funding for learning which takes place in the employee's own time may be relatively generous. In other cases, learning may be planned on a very flexible basis to take account of frequent or prolonged down periods in the work, for example where high degrees of automation remove the need for continuous activity on the part of the employee.

(d) Finally, even if we concentrate exclusively on paid work, the family environment is a heavy influence on learning, in at least two ways. First, the physical arrangements of the family schedule may influence the time which a worker has available for learning, whether this is at the workplace or at home. A study by myself and colleagues of part-time education in Scotland showed how complex these arrangements can be (Schuller et al 1999). Secondly, the norms of the household, and of the local community, will greatly influence the motivation of potential learners. A study in Northern Ireland showed how

traditional family attitudes can depress aspirations to learn and to achieve stronger occupational career success (Field & Spence 2000). Policies which ignore such factors are less likely to have an impact.

9.3. Social capital

Social capital is a concept which has yet to fully establish itself in the academic or the policy community, but which is rapidly attracting substantial attention, nationally and internationally (Dasgupta 2000; Baron, Field & Schuller forthcoming). A very prominent example is the World Bank, which has made social capital central to much of its programme on poverty alleviation (see eg Grootaert 1999). At the very least it offers promising avenues for exploring issues from different angles, even if its orthodox analytical power is still contested.

I shall argue that time and social capital are intimately linked in a number of ways: because social capital is threatened by the way working time can crowd out people's involvement in other activities; because a diminution of social capital in turn threatens the effectiveness of human capital formation (and therefore of training policies and activities); and because learning itself needs to be seen as a social activity, and time spent on it should help to foster the kinds of relationship which are essential to economic performance and social cohesion.

First, some definitions, for those who may be unfamiliar with the notion of social capital. The quotations below come from the three social theorists who have been central to the rise of interest in the notion of social capital, amongst policy-makers at governmental and intergovernmental level as well as amongst academics.

Robert Putnam defines social capital as 'the features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.' (Putnam 1996 p. 66). His original work was on the quality of government in north and south Italy (Putnam et al 1993); he has built on this by drawing on extensive time-budget surveys of Americans in succeeding decades to record extensive civic disengagement, as measured by participation in all forms of political or civic activity, from direct involvement in political parties to going bowling together as club members.

James Coleman acknowledges the diversity, if not the diffuseness, of the concept. 'Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure.' (1988 pS98).

Coleman goes on to specify three forms of social capital, essentially reducible to trust levels, information flows and the strength of norms and sanctions. He examines the effect of social capital in creating human capital, in the family and in the community. A key factor is the amount of time parents have available for their children. On this reckoning, one could have

high levels of financial and human capital but low social capital – for instance in a high-status dual-earning household where both parents were too busy with their careers to provide direct support for the children.

Pierre Bourdieu includes social capital as one of the three basic forms of capital, alongside the better known forms of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). He initially describes social capital as 'made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of mobility ' (1985 p. 242). This aggregate-type definition is followed by comments which give it an individualised status: 'The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected.' (ibid. p. 252).

Putnam argues strongly that there is a continuing and serious decline in social capital in the US. His findings are contested, both on measurement and interpretation. As for European countries, Hall (1999) has recently found differently for the UK, but I am not aware of other studies covering social capital trends at national level. Whatever the picture is, it is highly relevant that Putnam attributes part of the decline to the growth of two-earner households, and the rise over the past two decades in the amount of time women spend at work. (He is, however, at pains to deny that there is any suggested implication in his analysis that female labour market activity should be reduced.) We need therefore to look at how time is spent at work; and how this relates to the rest of the individual's schedule and that of his or her household. Such analyses should cover not only their own opportunities to learn, but how these impact on the opportunities of other members.

9.4. Social and human capital

The purpose of training is often considered to be to increase the stock of human capital, at organisational or national level. We need some framework for considering how social capital relates to human capital. This is supplied in the table below. The subsequent commentary relates the table to the theme of working time and training time.

	Human Capital	**Social Capital**
Focus	Individual	Relationships
Measures	Duration Qualifications	Membership/participation Trust levels
Outcomes	Direct: income, productivity Indirect: health, civic activity	Social cohesion Economic achievement More social capital
Model	Linear	Interactive/circular

Focus: The key distinction between human and social capital is that the former focusses on individual agents, and the latter on relationships between them and the networks they form. In the case of our theme, the inclusion of social capital makes the point that individuals timetables are not discrete entities which exist separately from the rest of the organisation. An employee may benefit from training leave and increase their own qualifications, but the impact of this on the organisation's performance will depend on how their absence and their learning is perceived by their own colleagues and immediate workgroup.

Input/measure: Human capital is measured primarily by levels of qualification achieved. Social capital is far more diffuse, and is measured broadly by levels of active participation in civic life or in other networks. One example of how this might be relevance is the way in which network membership provides access to important information and ideas, often in a relatively unstructured way. Another is the question of how far organisations actively encourage their staff to play a part in the life of the surrounding community – in the course of which they may well acquire important skills. Participation of this kind clearly raises issues about control of time in and out of work.

Outcomes: The output of human capital is generally measured in terms if enhanced income or productivity. Whilst social capital has been linked to economic performance, it also has wider outcomes – including the generation of further social capital. Looked at from a social capital persepctive, the impact of training may be as much in the strengthening of networks and information flows as in the acquisition of individual competences.

Models: Human capital suggests a direct linear model: investment is made, in time or money, and economic returns follow. Social capital has a much less linear approach, and its returns are less easily definable. In this respect, the distinction resembles that between 'training', with its defined and predictable outcomes, and 'education' with its much broader focus and variable outcomes.

This matrix can be applied in a whole series of contexts to explore different patterns of learning (and non-learning) and their effects. How might it apply to our current concern, the relationship between working time and education time?

First, the relationship between paid and unpaid work. Training is normally thought of as associated solely with paid work, but in a lifecourse context we need a broader canvas, to cover the portfolio of activities in which people engage at different ages and stages. Many of these – notably domestic labour and voluntary work – are not only hugely significant in their own right, but have major implications for training policy. The skills which people develop through their non-work activities can contribute very directly to the competences which they have to offer in the workplace. The broader canvas which social capital introduces encourages us to look more closely at the interaction between learning which goes on in relation to work, and learning which happens elsewhere. There are many concrete examples of positive interrelationship; yet company training is also becoming more tightly focussed on specific job requirements.

Secondly, there is the dimension of small enterprises, where time has a particular significance. The employer often has no time for gathering information about training; with a small workforce the scope for releasing staff for training is very limited; and cashflow difficulties often make for a very short timeframe where investment in human capital is discarded. There is a strong negative association between size of enterprise and amount of formal training recorded. If training policy is conceived within an individualised and formalised framework, small firms will always struggle to perform well. A broader look at ways in which information is transmitted and used, notably at the way in which business networks are developed, could yield many useful insights into the potential for small business development in a knowledge society.

Thirdly, it is commonplace to hear the case made for coordinated or intersectoral policy-making. A focus on individual human capital acquisition does not necessarily make this more difficult, but it can lead to an unhelpful concentration on individual qualifications. A social capital perspective, by contrast, makes it easier to bring into the picture the different ways in which people spend their time – and how these are affected by different policies on time use. For example, it is pointless promoting lifelong learning at work if policies relating to social benefits or to family life make it more difficult for individuals to reconcile the demands of training with the other spheres of their lives.

9.5. Some suggestions for an agenda

I would argue that the value of social capital as an idea is primarily a heuristic one – that is to say, it opens up new lines of thought. If we are to get beyond some of the more sterile, and very repetitive, debates on the value or shape of training, we need concepts which will help us look at a rapidly changing set of circumstances through fresh eyes.

Here are just four areas in which some quite pragmatic conclusions can be drawn (and further suggestions made for the CEDEFOP agenda, if any are needed).

9.5.1. The scope of lifelong learning

Definitional debate in the field of education and training is notoriously unproductive. Lifelong learning and cognate concepts such as recurrent education and formation continue have also been dissected at length and probably not to much purpose. But the challenges which the changing world of work poses do require some fresh scoping work to be done, which will show the links between different forms of learning. In particular, we need some discussion of how use of qualifications as a proxy for training levels can be complemented by broader approaches to learning, inside and outside the workplace.

Included here is information on how people actually spend their time. This should include the gathering of comparative data, either through survey or diary studies. This will tell us not just how much time people spend on different forms of learning, but how this time fits (or does

not fit) with other activities in their lives. There are already some large data sets on time use (se eg Gershuny 2000), but most of them ignore learning.

9.5.2. Information and communication technologies

There is of course a huge debate on the place of ICT in lifelong learning. Here I would simply say that we need to look at how ICT-based individual learning fits with social patterns of learning. Individual learning packages, and flexible provision, have very positive potential for improving access, motivation and efficiency. They clearly can help people to make more use of their time for learning. Moreover ICT can open up access to networks for individuals, removed from constraints of time and space. But this should not happen at the expense of the social infrastructure of learning, the contexts and organisations which enable people to learn together (the Danish folk high schools being an excellent example, see Mork 1999). Social capital emphasises the importance of social communication, and the forming and maintaining of social relationships as a key benefit of learning as an activity.

9.5.3. Co-investment of time and money

Public and employer support for learning will be crucial. We should expect this to very greatly, across sectors and occupational classes. Part of the role of public policy will be to continue efforts to improve equity of distribution, so that learning opportunities do not go so much to those who have already benefited. We should expect a proliferation of arrangements in which the stakeholders contribute different levels of time and money in order to sustain higher levels of learning. There will be an important mapping job to do, identifying good practice and analysing the effectiveness of different arrangements.

9.5.4. Cost and benefits

Finally, there is scope for more imaginative and sophisticated work in modelling and measuring the costs, but especially the benefits, of lifelong learning. Looked at from one angle time is a finite and expensive commodity, and training time comes under increasing scrutiny in cost-conscious operations. Social capital offers a wider approach which goes beyond the economic returns (but does not ignore them). It encourages cross-sectoral and longer-term approaches to policy and analysis. An outstanding example is the Danish Job rotation scheme, which addresses the wider social context, and is based on building up relationships between different groups (unemployed, those on training leave, and mentors), with funding from employers and social security. Initiatives such as this should be used as case studies to develop broader approaches to evaluation of training benefits.

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10. Synthesis of the work

André Kirchberger

At a time when there is growing discussion of employment and work against a background of increasing globalisation of ideas, reinforced by the spread of new information and communications technologies, it is not surprising that Agora VII, organised by Cedefop in Thessaloniki from 7 to 8 October 1999, should have aroused considerable interest. More than 30 experts from various fields and a variety of Member States of the Union – researchers and university lecturers, political decision-makers and representatives of the social partners – were able to discuss, if not dispute, each other's ideas. Besides presentation of 'official' statements of all kinds, general, generic and even generous, the purpose was to identify the key factors in an issue of central importance to economic and social development. Without attempting, at the end of these discussions, to reach some common standpoint, let alone a consensus, it was necessary not only to 'inspect the ground', but also to 'mark out the goalposts', or in other words to identify the parameters for subsequent discussions for which this Agora could only show the way. Inasmuch, this Agora, like its predecessors, provided confirmation of the essential role of Cedefop as a centre for reflection on the development of vocational training policies in the Member States of the Union.

Three key issues, which exemplified the complexity of the issue, were put to the participants:

(a) Work and training in society in the 21st century,

(b) Working time and training time inside and outside the enterprise in the context of management of people and of skills,

(c) Working time and training time in the course of life.

Before picking out the first lessons to be learnt from these discussions, we should bear a certain number of 'facts' in mind, as Johan van Rens, Director of Cedefop, reminded participants at the opening of the Agora: firstly, that work (i.e., paid work) remains crucial to the organisation of individual and social life; and secondly, that working time (and hence also training time) are elements of 'social time', which is by no means restricted to these two activities. Other 'times' should be added: the times devoted to family life, to rest, to leisure activities, etc., even though no clear boundary can be drawn between these different 'times', which often overlap. In short, discussion of the relationship between working time and training time cannot be confined within the main concepts of classical tragedy, namely unity of time, place and action (Éric Fries Guggenheim). We learn all the time (and not merely during training time); we learn everywhere (and not merely at school or a training centre); and we learn in different ways, at different paces and according to different 'schemata'. In other words, working time cannot be dissociated from the pattern of other 'times', including that of social care (Jacques Trautmann).

One preliminary remark is called for: there is increasingly frequently a difference between places of training and places of work. The long-standing sequence, not to say the 'traditional model', of a jump in time and space from the place and period of education and training (or learning, in the English sense of the term, as Tom Schuller reminded us), to the time and place of work is becoming less and less clear – and this raises as a matter of urgency the question of the compatibility of different 'times' (Francesc Falgueras i Ruscalleda). Although work remains a key element of 'social time' (to which it gives a structure, largely in terms of status), a growing intermingling of different 'times' can be observed, including, for example, the spread of activities such as voluntary work in the civil society (Tom Schuller). In short, we may wonder, as did Christian Kutzner, 'where does work stop and leisure time begin'?

This is all the more crucial because work itself has changed considerably (Vincent Merle). Craft trades, with all that these implied in terms of apprenticeship, including formal learning at school or a training centre, where learning was mixed up with occupational activities, gave way to work organised along Taylorist lines, in which (from the employer's point of view) learning time had to be reduced to a minimum – hence the extreme specialisation of places of work and training. This is no longer the case today, at least in some industries, and this change is likely to become more widespread. What matters at work now is the ability to cope with uncertainties and unknown risks – that is to say, to handle occupational situations which call for a strong capacity for innovation, and therefore to be able to transpose what has been learnt in one situation to other situations.

It is not just work (and the way in which we learn along with it) that has changed. The employment relationship is also less and less stable. Ways of working that were not long ago considered 'atypical' (part-time work, fixed-term contracts, temporary work, teleworking, undeclared earnings, etc.) have caught up with the traditional model of full-time open-ended employment with the same enterprise and have spread to such a degree (André Kirchberger, Nikitas Patiniotis) that it is even possible to speak of the 'fragmentation' of work (Johnathan Winterton), and of the 'dissolution' of employment. As Alain Dumont remarked, 'people are less and less sure of where their job will be'. There is therefore no doubt that the huge expansion in the new technologies will profoundly change not only modes of production and working situations (such as employment relations) but also the image that we have of employment and work. To sum up, what work means for and in society and for each individual has changed radically over time; furthermore, for many people 'having a job' has replaced 'having a trade' or 'having a profession' (Nicola Konstantinou). In short, while work remains at the centre of social life...where's that? (Lise Skanting) This question is especially significant since, as Juan José Castillo said, 'in some jobs, people are old at 45'.

Another question arises at this juncture, and it was addressed very directly by many participants in the Agora: the very way in which the duality of 'working time/training time' is expressed immediately presupposes a direct link between these two times (Jacques Trautmann). This leads to the (very traditional) notion of a 'trade-off' – in other words, that training time, or the time devoted to training during working life, should be deducted from

working time, should be 'taken from it' in one way or another. In other words, since training is in some way outside work (because pursued outside working time), work teaches nothing.

This perception runs counter to new modes of production (Alain Dumont): we have to go beyond thinking of a job as confining a worker in a very narrow occupation and in defined relationships in accordance with the Taylorist concept of work mentioned above, and to emphasise skills. It is these flexible, diversified and evolving skills which should in fact be at the centre of work organisation. It should be the concern of both employers and workers, together with their representatives, to keep them up-to-date (Jean-Michel Joubier). This means recognising that skills are a collective responsibility, with a concomitant requirement for negotiation between an enterprise and its employees, on condition that skills development should be accepted as a an essential part of a worker's occupational development (Jean-Michel Joubier).

This automatically has an impact on the relationship between 'working time' and 'training time'. This is particularly true because enterprises and workplaces are in themselves sources of learning (Vincent Merle). It is therefore indispensable to overcome the hard and fast distinction between work and training (and between knowledge and skills). And since training is an absolute requirement, and essential for the maintenance and enhancement of employability (provided that vocational training means more than a series of unrelated courses – Jean-Michel Joubier), it requires, in the context of new ways of organising work, 'negotiation of new agreements between the social partners' (Jacques Trautmann). There is a kind of 'shared responsibility' between the head of an enterprise, workers and their representatives for developing a way of organising work that in itself provides training. (This is not currently the case, given that the arrangements for continuing training are complicated, difficult to understand and hence demotivating – Patrick Werquin).

Against such a background, several participants questioned the function of initial training (remarking moreover that prolonging young people's dependency by extending their studies may even weaken the link between initial and further vocational training – Tom Schuller), and, more generally, the function of school, which should be the place where the basics are learnt in preparation for active life, citizenship and active social participation. At the end of schooling (and initial training), the aim should not be to arrive at a 'finished product' (Jean-Michel Joubier), but to prepare young people for 'families of jobs'. This in turn raises the crucial issue of guidance as a tool in the process of personal and occupational development (this question is the theme of Agora X in autumn 2000). Training is not an end in itself; it is only a means of acquiring and handling skills (Alain Dumont). And this should also imply greater vertical integration and better coherence between initial training and continuing training (Patrick Werquin).

It would have been surprising in such a discussion if the issue of qualifications and certification had not been addressed, particularly in relation to the importance given to them in enterprises' recruitment policies. For some people (Alain Dumont), certificates and the skills which they record are given too much weight; what counts for the employer who hires

someone is that he or she should be able to demonstrate their skills, with the risk of dismissal for failure (Jørgen Mørk). More specifically, although certificates state what a person's skills were when he or she started active life, the skills acquired at the workplace throughout a worker's career – in short, 'what he or she can do' – are in the eyes of an employer as important if not more important. This being so, is it possible to 'swap the guarantee of a stable job for a guarantee of employability and, if so, what are the respective responsibilities of the enterprise and the worker?' (Alain Dumont). But in that case, as another participant pointed out (Tom Schuller), 'certificates still remain the only method of credible evaluation' and, whatever one may say, for many employers they are the only measure of abilities. Somewhere between certification and the skills acquired, the key question arises for continuing training of the validation and transferability of knowledge and skills acquired at the workplace.

All participants did indeed stress that the level of education and training has risen. Nonetheless, access to training, and especially to continuing training, remains very unequal. This inequality principally affects the populations concerned: there is a negative correlation between level of education (and initial training) and participation in continuing training, the less well educated having least access to continuing training. But this inequality also affects enterprises – especially SMEs, more particularly those not in the high-technology field. These have the greatest difficulty in introducing continuing training (Tom Schuller). The same applies in industries that are undergoing major restructuring, such as the textile industry in Portugal (Augusto Praça).

But, as Patrick Werquin pointed out – and this will form the basis of a survey to be launched by the OECD in several Member countries – other factors appear to influence this inequality: primarily lack of motivation on the part of both workers (no doubt because of their negative experience of schooling and the image of vocational training) and enterprises, some of which have stated blandly that they would have been interested in training and human resources development at times of recession when they did not have the means to commit themselves (while in times of growth, when they did have the means...they did not have the time!). This 'gap' is all the more worrying because of the paradox of needing more time for learning and finding that there are more and more things to learn (more skills to be acquired, more intelligence, and so on) and of having less and less time in which to do so, if only because of the pressures of productivity (Juan José Castillo).

It was in such a context that Tom Schuller introduced into the discussions the concept of 'social capital' and the relationship that it may have with 'human capital'. While the latter stresses the individual, the length of his or her schooling, and a rational approach focusing on skills and certification, the former stresses the importance of networking, civic commitment and values. It is the case, he added, that there is currently a noticeable decline in 'social capital' (largely because of the shortage of time brought about by the fact that more and more married women work), which is also reflected in impoverishment of human relationships. And he regarded as just as important the fact that a growing diversification of training provision throughout life can be observed, and that we are still a long way from a cost-benefit analysis

of training, and even further away if we do not restrict ourselves to the short term but look at the entire life cycle.

This Agora VII, like its predecessors (and those to be held next year) did not set out to define once and for all the basic parameters of the 'working time/training time' issue but rather, as has been indicated above, to sketch out a number of areas for discussion. The traditional model, which tied these two 'times' so closely together that the time devoted to training was deducted from working time, as Jacques Trautmann clearly described in his paper introducing the meeting, has given way to other approaches which allow for both a new configuration of employment relations (greater flexibility), a new structure of 'social time' (less linearity), and a new approach to the reciprocal responsibilities of enterprises and workers (emphasis on joint investment) for finding new ways of organising work so that it teaches skills, etc. It is no exaggeration to say that at the end of these discussions, the 'landscape' is less 'static', more evolutionary and above all more global, if the notion of training is to be taken in its broad meaning.

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Paid employment continues to be at the heart of individual and collective life. Working and training time are part of social time. To this we should add less clearly defined times, such as the time devoted to family life, relaxation, leisure, etc.

An examination of the relationship between working time and training time should not be constrained by the key concept of classical drama, i.e. the unity of time, place and action. In reality we learn all the time, everywhere, in different ways, at different rhythms and in different patterns.

Work itself has changed considerably, demanding a strong capacity for innovation and the ability to transfer knowledge from one set of circumstances to another.

The traditional model has been replaced by other approaches, emphasising greater flexibility in work relations, a less linear structuring of social time and a new way of looking at the mutual responsibilities of employers and employees (especially the notion of co-investment).

In order to explore the issue, three points are examined here: Work and training in the 21st century; working time and in-company vs. extramural training time; working and training time throughout life.

PANORAMA

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Working time, training time

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